PAKISTAN ARMY

GREEN BOOK

2021

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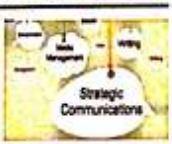

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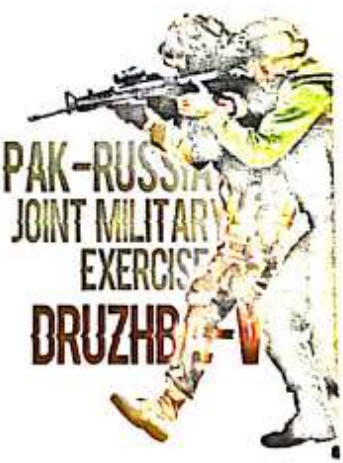
From Desk of Editor-In-Chief

Pakistan Army Green Book endeavours to showcase intellectual and professional discourse by eminent scholars, professionals and practitioners on a diverse range of subjects. The current edition, ensembles discourse on COVID-19, Kashmir, Afghan peace process, Indo-China standoff and a host of other topics, which despite the fluidity in the environment remain of contemporary relevance. The readers shall find insightful analyses on critical issues faced by the country. The editorial team remains highly grateful to our esteemed authors for valuable and quality contributions. Happy Reading!



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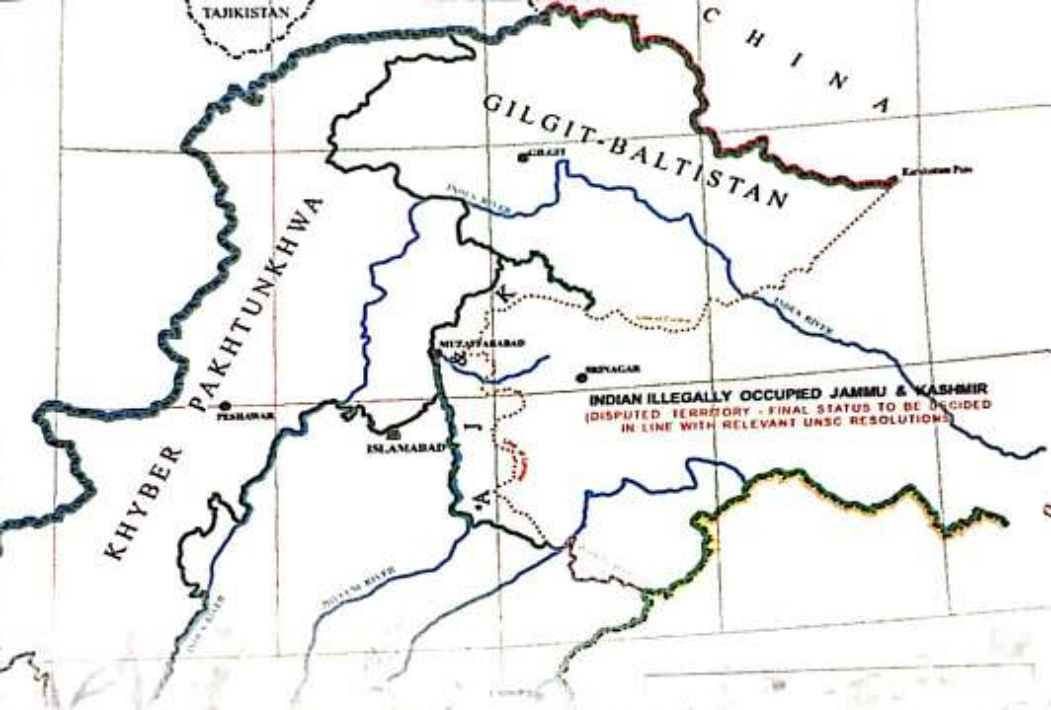

REWRITE PAKISTAN'S KASHMIR POLICY

Sardar Masood Khan

ABSTRACT

Geopolitics is witnessing a period of historical transformation. The world order led by the West since the end of the Cold War is under stress. The world is inexorably drifting towards ethnic and religious nationalism and diverse manifestations of fascism and parochialism. The influence of the post-1945 World Order, symbolised and steered by the United Nations, is waning. Rules that underpinned that order are being undermined. What we see is flux, turbulence and convulsion. UN Security Council handed down a just dispensation for the solution of the Kashmir dispute in the form of powerful resolutions, albeit under Chapter VI of the Charter. At that time, the US chose Pakistan as an ally and we were perceived to be on the right side of history. Pakistan, in due course, developed this thinking that the world is just and the plebiscite, promised by the UN, was a matter of time. India had other plans. Under the pretence of diplomatic engagement with the UN, it initiated multiple military, political and constitutional processes for the permanent integration of the occupied territory in its state and deluded Pakistan and the international community about its real intent. Hence, a need is felt to review the way our Kashmir Policy has been steered.

Key Words: Post-1945 world order, UN Security Council, Kashmir dispute, Plebiscite, Diplomatic Engagement, Military, Political and Constitutional Processes.

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The year is not 1947 nor 1957 nor 1965 nor 1971 nor 1999 when we waged wars or mounted multilateral diplomatic campaigns to liberate the Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK). The Cold War is long gone. Decolonisation came to an end last century, and the number of the ardent advocates of Wilsonian self-determination have dwindled drastically. Very few jurists or states willingly invoke the right to self-determination enshrined in the United Nations' Charter, the covenants, treaties, conventions, declarations and resolutions. The post-Cold War period proved to be a blip on the geopolitical scene. The world is inexorably drifting towards ethnic and religious nationalism and diverse manifestations of fascism and parochialism. The influence of the post-1945 world order, symbolised and steered by the United Nations, is waning. Rules that underpinned that order are being undermined. What we see is flux, turbulence and convulsion.

We wrote our briefs on Jammu and Kashmir in the 1940s and 1950s when the UN Security Council handed down a just dispensation for the solution of the Kashmir dispute in the form of powerful resolutions, albeit under Chapter VI of the Charter. At that time, the US chose Pakistan as an ally and we were perceived to be on the right side of history. Pakistan, in due course, developed this chimerical thinking that the world is just and the plebiscite, promised by the UN, was a matter of time, India had other plans. Under the pretence of diplomatic engagement with the UN, it initiated multiple military, political and constitutional processes for the permanent integration of the occupied territory in its state and deluded Pakistan and the international community about its real intent.

The 1966 Tashkent Summit actualised third party mediation but the net impact of the Tashkent Declaration was a status quo as it promised no process or prospects for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. The 1972 Simla Agreement, signed after the India-orchestrated separation of East Pakistan and under the pressure to get back our prisoners of the 1971 War, baptised a bilateral dimension on Kashmir. This worked to India's advantage because, though the agreement itself invoked the UN Charter and kept the door for multilateral diplomacy on Kashmir open, Delhi through its powerful propaganda machine made the world's foreign offices believe that the Kashmir issue had now become a bilateral issue and that third parties had no role in it. The evil design of the successive Indian governments at that time was to exclude Kashmiris from the Kashmir issue, keep the UN at bay, rule out third party mediation, and in the meantime merge the disputed territory to its state by a ruthless policy of coercion and inducement. The strategy has not worked for India because even after passage of 73 years the loudest slogan chanted in the Kashmiris' houses and streets is "Go India, Go Back".

The evil design of the successive Indian governments at that time was to exclude Kashmiris from the Kashmir issue, keep the UN at bay, rule out third party mediation and in the meantime merge the disputed territory to its state by a ruthless policy of coercion and inducement

In the past, we had made a fatal mistake by agreeing to bilateral talks with India. Very cleverly, by negotiating a broader Pakistan-India agenda, which included Kashmir as one agenda item, Delhi had already diluted the importance of the Kashmir issue

Nothing much happened on the bilateral diplomatic front between India and Pakistan in the 1970s and early 1980s except for the exchange of angry rhetoric and some odd encounters and meetings. After the 1971 War, India's assumption was that Pakistan should forget about IIOJK; basking in the glory of their 'success', Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had threatened to disintegrate the rest of Pakistan. India's 1974 nuclear explosion code-named "Smiling Buddha" changed the dynamics. Pakistan too was compelled to develop its own nuclear capability for its survival, security and defence. Pakistan thus introduced an equaliser vis-a-vis India and Kashmir remained at the centre of a

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There is no definition of terrorism crafted by the UN so far, but customary international law dating back to the past century, 1960s through 1980s, gives the people under alien subjugation the right to defend and liberate themselves by all available means, including armed struggle

possible casus belli for the next war. By the 1980s, possession of nuclear weapons by both countries was an open secret. The actual equilibrium between the two nuclear powers, however, was demonstrated and established in 1998. The cat was out of the bag.

Incidentally, from 1990 to 1995, Pakistan launched a strong diplomatic offensive to bring Kashmir back on the international agenda by tabling or circulating resolutions on the egregious human rights situation in IIOJK in the UN General Assembly and the Human Rights Commission or by engaging the UN Security Council through communications. This push coincided with and in fact was driven by, India's use of brutal repression on a mass scale against Kashmiris, starting 1989. Pakistani and Azad Kashmir citizens gave assistance to the Kashmiris, whom they considered their compatriots. The United States, for the first time in decades, gave tacit support to the Kashmiri struggle and to Pakistan's position on Kashmir. President Bill Clinton in his yearly address at the UN General Assembly in September 1993 mentioned Kashmir which stunned Indians and literally sent them into a spin. Our hopes were however, dashed later when the US distanced itself from the initiative and a majority of the developing countries decided to stay away fearing that the Kashmir resolution might prove to be a Trojan horse which could be used to target them later. Our effort also foundered because of India's obsequious and unconditional rapprochement with Washington in 1995 that laid the foundation of the new phase of the US-India relations that continues up to this day.

The 1999 Kargil War proved that no conventional war, or even an asymmetric offensive, could be sustained below the nuclear threshold. The moment Washington and other influential capitals realised the gravity of the Pakistan-India faceoff in Kashmir, they scrambled to avert a wider war which, in their estimation, could have escalated to a nuclear level with dire consequences. Pakistan's thrust was halted by international diplomacy, mobilised at the request of India.

The off and on charade of bilateral talks, laced with a raft of confidence building measures, did not end the scourge of killings, blindings, forced disappearances and molestation of Kashmiris. Pakistan was talking to the Indian leaders whose hands were drenched with Kashmiris' blood

After the Kargil War, and especially the War on Terror, India made a determined effort to equate freedom fighters with terrorists and worked on the US and the UN to help it delegitimise Kashmiri resistance. There is no definition of terrorism crafted by the UN so far, but customary international law dating back to the past century, 1960s through 1980s, gives the people under alien subjugation the right to defend and liberate themselves by all available means, including armed struggle.' This legislation in fact prohibits the kind of brazen invasion, occupation and aggression that India undertook in October 1947 and August 2019. But despite the lawfulness of the armed struggle and the legitimacy of seeking material help from other nations, the die is cast against any kind of armed resistance. That said, there are double standards. For instance, in Syria those fighting the Assad regime, of whatever hue, would not be dubbed as terrorists, or in 1971, Mukti Bahini was "legit" but Kashmiri Mujahidin fighting Indian sate-sponsored terror in the 1990s were "terrorists". Occupying powers like India proscribe the doctrine of legitimate armed struggle and help from outside, to suppress their colonial subjects in IIOJK, whereas large federal states look askance at the concept, apprehending that this could unleash centrifugal forces. In addition, a comprehensive definition of terrorism will include 'state terrorism' being practiced by India against Kashmiris and its other citizens such as Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Dalits and tribal population.

In the past, we had made a fatal mistake by agreeing to bilateral talks with India. Very cleverly, by negotiating a broader Pakistan-India agenda, which included Kashmir as one agenda item, Delhi had already diluted the importance of the Kashmir issue. In the last bilateral agenda that was agreed between India and Pakistan in December 2015, Kashmir was one of ten agenda items and theoretically it was equivalent to 'religious tourism'. India used the bilateral process only as a ruse to gain time and diffuse and deflect Pakistan's attention. The off and on charade of bilateral talks,

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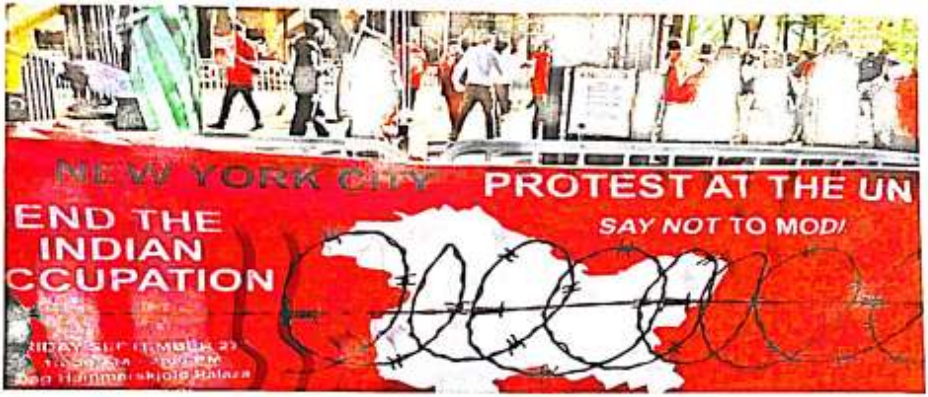

laced with a raft of confidence building measures, did not end the scourge of killings, blindings, forced disappear-ances and molestation of Kashmiris.

The game plan changed completely in 2014 with the ascendency of the Narendra Modi-led Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), backed by the Rashtriya Sawayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and other violent extremist Hindu nationalist organisations. They changed the playbook. They announced they would take away IIOJK's cosmetic autonomy and the symbols that went with it; the Assembly, flag, constitution and rescind Kashmiris' rights that protected their citizenship, land, property, livelihoods, jobs, education. After total disenfranchisement of the Kashmiris, they have turned their disputed territory into a vassal state, a colony. Today, the population does not even have the rights it used to enjoy under the despotic rule of the Maharajah Hari Singh or the rights Indians used to have before the British left the subcontinent in 1947.

There are six major ominous developments. One, after abrogating Article 35-A of its constitution that recognised the inherent rights given to the Kashmiris in 1927, India has issued (at the time of the writing of this piece) more than 1.2 million domicile certificates to non-native, non-Kashmiri Hindus from all over India. Their prime target is to import millions more to change the demographic composition of the state within two to three years. Second, they have opened ways to rob Kashmiris of their 480,000 jobs which were previously reserved for them. Third, they have delegitimised the bulk of the Kashmiri businesses, especially in the construction industry under a dubious environmental protection law. Economic exploitation of the Kashmiris, particularly of their mineral wealth and forests, is in full swing. Some wily, incommunicado outsiders are running this scam. Fourth, the occupation forces have been authorised to declare any part of IIOJK 'strategic' and then start construction of new housing colonies there for armed personnel and civil servants, retired or serving, their families and hundreds of thousands of new settlers. Fifth, Kashmiris are being killed in large numbers. Every day young men are gunned down in fake encounters or cordon and search operations. Sixth, India targets our civilians across the Line of Control causing death and devastation.

China, Turkey, Malaysia, Iran and some Western countries have castigated India and spoken out for the Kashmiris. But a majority of the governments have either kept silent or they have issued ambiguous, non-committal statements

For all intents and purposes, India gets off scot free. It is a rogue state that seeks exceptionalism even in regard to its proven, unpardonable crimes in Kashmir

The world's reaction to India's crimes against humanity, genocide, war crimes, and ethnic cleansing, has been mixed. The world media, prominent parliamentarians in the Western world, think tanks and human rights organisations have called out India and expressed their solidarity with the people of IIOJK. The incensed Pakistani-Kashmiri diaspora has changed the Kashmir cause into an international movement. China, Turkey, Malaysia, Iran and some Western countries have castigated India and spoken out for the Kashmiris. But a majority of the governments have either kept

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The world used to worry that extremists, especially religious extremists, should not get hold of nuclear weapons. This has already happened. Narendra Modi has twice threatened Pakistan with nuclear annihilation; and India's Defence Minister has teased a First Use, out of its policy of No First Use (NFU) of nuclear weapons

silent or they have issued ambiguous, non-committal statements. Some of our radiational friends in the Arab world have been busy appeasing India and in fact rewarding it for its behaviour which has caused dismay among people. The West has not held India accountable.

Despite these barriers, Pakistan has done well in making the most of the opportunities thrown its way whether it was in the form of holding of informal consultations in the Security Council, getting support of the OIC in Jeddah or reaching out to heads of state/government and foreign ministers of scores of countries. India's reputation and image as a state took the biggest hit in recent years. Taboos against calling out India have been broken all over the world.

And yet, for all intents and purposes, India gets off scot free. It is a rogue state that seeks exceptionalism even in regard to its proven, unpardonable crimes in Kashmir.

Because of the ongoing depredations of Hindutva, the game has become much bigger than Kashmir. The BJP-RSS combine is targeting its Muslim population for ethnic cleansing and it has vowed to fulfil its dream of Akhand Bharat by demolishing its neighbours, especially Pakistan.

The world used to worry that extremists, especially religious extremists, should not get hold of nuclear weapons. This has already happened. Narendra Modi has twice threatened Pakistan with nuclear annihilation; and India's Defence Minister has teased a First Use, out of its policy of No First Use (NFU) of nuclear weapons. This is beyond nuclear signalling. Make no mistake about it: the zealots may resort to nuclear warfare. The world should not take such conduct or pronouncements lightly.

President Donald Trump's full-hearted support of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's plans to annex the occupied West Bank and the recognition of Israel by the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain are reshaping the political fault lines in the Middle East. The Israeli agenda's comparison with Kashmir is alarming for two reasons. First, India would accomplish its plan for illegal settlements in IIOJK in just two to three years what took Israel decades to do since the occupation of the Palestinian territory. Secondly, India has first annexed the territory and then started constructing illegal settlements, with no barrier in its path.

It is important to understand that every country is absorbed in its own problems. In the UN and other multilateral forums, bloc politics rules the roost. Collective security and dispute settlement have taken a back seat. Nations tend to make decisions on the basis of bilateral or group transactions. Issues are not addressed on merit or the seriousness of a problem but on the basis of the strategic priorities of the most powerful nations. The system dealing with peace and

security is broken but nobody dares say it out loud. If the UN system created for the maintenance of peace and security would have been functional, after the developments on August 5, 2019, the Security Council or the UN Secretary General would have intervened invoking the Charter's Article 33 (negotiation, mediation, arbitration), Article 34 (dispute investigation), Article 36 (resort to International Court of Justice) or Article 37 (recommending appropriate terms of settlement). It did not lift a finger. In fact, the situation in IIOJK is so grave that the Council should have

The multilateral system will not deliver on its own or even put pressure on India unless there is pressure from outside, from the First Avenues of the world

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The baton of leadership should be passed consciously and systematically to youth. More than 64 percent, or roughly 140 million people in Pakistan are below the age of 30. The future of Pakistan belongs to them. Let's make them part of the endeavours to build Pakistan and liberate Kashmir

convened urgent meetings, under Articles 41 and 42, to make a direct intervention in order to stop India's aggression and save Kashmiris.

Against this backdrop, how would we rewrite our policy and how should we revamp our strategy?

We should stay the course as far as our traditional diplomacy is concerned, be it multilateral or bilateral. Our work with the UN Security Council, the General Assembly and the Human Rights Council must continue. During the annual session of the UN General Assembly, attended by the Presidents and the Prime Ministers, its platform is particularly effective in reaching out not only to governments but to hundreds of millions of citizens across the globe. The pathways to these multilateral forums however, should be deepened and widened. Because of our entanglement with the non-productive bilateral processes, we have lost space in these forums. We would need a lot of grit and ingenuity to fill up that gap. Nothing is assured in these forums despite our best efforts but, there is one unwritten rule in multilateral diplomacy: perseverance opens the doors even for the weakest.

We also need to expand the definition of multilateral diplomacy. The Indian crimes against humanity in IIOJK are within the jurisdiction of the Fourth Geneva Convention, Additional Protocol I, the Statute of International Criminal Court and dozens of treaties covering excessive use of force, killings, arbitrary detentions, torture, enforced disappearances, discrimination against women and many more. We ought to work more actively with the states which are party to these treaty bodies.

Article 2 of the Genocide Convention states "... genocide means acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, ...". It has to be a special intent or dolus speciales, to destroy a people and India is doing precisely that in IIOJK.

Similarly, the potential of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) must be tapped. World parliamentarians assembling for IPU plenaries and committee meetings, or during their conversations in corridors, can help in mainstreaming Kashmir in the international agenda.

But there is a catch here. The multilateral system will not deliver on its own or even put pressure on India unless there is pressure from outside, i.e. First Avenues of the world. The Kashmir struggle and India's oppression have reached a stage where only voices from the squares, streets and highways can create a critical mass and a critical pitch that would influence decision-making in the United Nations and stay the hand of the occupier in IIOJK. Let us call it international civil society movement on Kashmir, and this movement should be like anti-Vietnam War and anti-Apartheid campaigns or like American civil rights movement.

Despite the clamour and condemnation over Indian actions, there is no accountability of the perpetrator of the crimes in IIOJK. That's why, it is imperative that we help start a Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement against India. This is feasible. It has worked in regard to Palestine or against fossil fuel in the context of climate change. Why can't it work for Kashmir? It will.

We will also have to define the international community more broadly. It should include the diaspora, the media, and civil society. Let's call it people's diplomacy or people-centred diplomacy.

Our 10-million strong diaspora community is involved but not fully. There is a lot they can do with the help of their networks of friends. Pakistanis and Kashmiris abroad are politically active, many now have representation in parliaments and councils and they are economically well-off. They seek leadership, not in terms of any quid pro quo but in regard to connectivity. These community representatives should be invited to work with local media and think tanks of their countries.

The baton of leadership should be passed consciously and systematically to youth. More than 64 percent, or roughly 140 million people in Pakistan, are below the age of 30. The future of Pakistan belongs to them. Let's make them part of the endeavours to build Pakistan and liberate Kashmir.

India is planting false narratives in the new and traditional media, as well as in parliaments, banking institutions, corporate world, thinks tanks and policy forums. We have by now the wherewithal to counter this offensive. The youth, seething with anger at India's hate-Pakistan agenda and atrocities in Kashmir, is keen to plan and act proactively.

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IIOJK should be considered part of Pakistan's state under Indian occupation, not a distant disputed territory which merits serious but only periodic attention.

Pakistan's nuclear conventional deterrent against India is credible but, no threshold is high enough to counter existential threats emanating from India. Therefore, continued investment in full spectrum response capability, keeping in mind India's maddening arms shopping spree and its induction of Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) system is imperative. At the same time it is necessary to give ideological and physical training to young men and women to prepare them for the future challenges.

Our Kashmir policy should flow from a larger vision for a strong, secure and prosperous Pakistan. In this vision, we will put economy at the centre. No wheel for national power and prowess, including defence, will move without a strong economy. With our 80 million plus middle class (Forbes' figure, 2015), we should be in a position to look towards more stable and progressive economic growth and burgeoning national strength of Pakistan. To achieve these objectives, we need to inject adaptability in our strategic agenda. And we must remember that great nations are crafted, not born.

Sardar Masood Khan is the President of Azad Jammu & Kashmir and Pakistan's former Ambassador to China and the United Nations

NOTES

1. See UN General Assembly Resolutions 1514 of 1960 and 3314 of 1974.

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THE PARTITION REDUX IN INDIA

Lt Gen
Raza Muhammad Khan
HI (M) (Retd)

ABSTRACT

This exposition has apprehended the predicament of the Indian minorities and the people of IIOJK; the options available to them to deal with it and how failure of pacific choices to save themselves, could lead to a second partition of India. It surmises that India is suffering from a perpetual dilemma of how to unite a society divided by caste, which abhors the idea of equality, fraternity and unity. It suggests that since the Indian rulers have cast Muslims as internal enemies, their survival lies in their own political unity and coalitions with other minorities. It reveals why the BJP leadership is sacrificing Indian interests over their personal and political benefits, endangering India and the region. It posits how disproportionate spending on security to implement flawed policies, at the cost of development, could hasten India's breakup. It expounds why urgent intervention by the world leaders, the UN and the OIC is warranted to influence Indian politics and policies and portents that inaction can seriously undermine local and global stability. The exposition predicts that the future of India could be ominous or propitious, depending on the character and resolve of its ruling junta and the support of its masses and media. It discerns that since the Indian Kashmir policy has become untenable and counterproductive, Kashmiris, all over the world, can pursue their goal of self-determination, peacefully, vigour and surety. It explains how the obtaining environments are relatively favourable for Pakistan and based on which it outlines the contours of a bold and innovative policies for it, to defend its interests.

Key words: Partition, Ultra-nationalism in India, Hindutva, Radicalization, Minorities, BJP, RSS & Self Determination.

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Preface

When the British government's 'Cabinet Mission' asked Quaid e Azam on 4 April 1946, why there should be a separate Pakistan, he eloquently propounded the 'Two Nations Theory' in these words: "Throughout her history from the days of Chandra Gupta there had never been any Government of India in the sense of a single Government. The Muslim Moghul Empire had the largest control but even in those days the Mahrattas and the Rajputs were not under Muslim rule. When the British came, they gradually established their rule in a large part of India but, even then, India was only one-third united. The big states and sovereign states were constitutionally and legally already "Pakistans". India is really many and is held by the British as one. The differences in India are far greater than between European countries and are of a vital and fundamental character. Even Ireland provides no parallel. The Muslims have a different conception of life from the Hindus. They admire different qualities in their heroes; they have a different culture based on Arabic and Persian instead of Sanskrit origins. Their social customs are entirely different. A Hindu will wash his hands after shaking hands with a Muslim. No Hindu will let Mr. Jinnah have a room in his building. Hindu society and philosophy are the most exclusive in the world. Muslims and Hindus have been side by side in India for a thousand years but if you go into any Indian city you will see separate Hindu and Muslim quarters. They have different names and use a different calendar. The Hindus worship the cow and even today in certain States a 10-year sentence is imposed for killing a cow. This means nothing to the Muslims. You cannot make a nation unless there are essential united factors. How are you to put 100 millions of Muslims together with 250 million, whose way of life is so different. No Government can ever work on such a basis and if this is forced upon India, it must lead us to disaster".[1] Based on this rationality and truth, Pakistan was created sixteen months later. Fast forward now to the year 2002, when a thousand Muslims were viciously murdered and another two thousands injured in the Indian state of Gujarat, where Modi was the CM. Commenting on this massacre, a prominent Indian author, diplomat and politician, Mr. Khushwant Singh, noted in his book titled 'The end of India': 'With sections of the ruling coalition openly supporting the divisive and retrograde agenda of the fundamentalists, it is the very idea of India that is at stake, Indian newspapers have put the blame for this, squarely on the neo-fascist members of the RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal and Shiv Senna, with the collusion of the BJP. Their private armies are designed to implement political agendas through force and to be used in communal riots, there is distortion of facts, injection of false pride in the Hindu race and religion, extreme prejudice and contempt for the minorities 'Unless a miracle saves us,' 'the country will break up. It will not be Pakistan or any other foreign power that will destroy us; we will commit hara-kiri' those who feel secure because we are not Muslims or Christians are living in a fool's paradise'. 'No one is safe',[2] he warned and lamented in 2003. After ten years of procrastination, the team investigating this carnage, absolved Modi of all blame and the Indian Supreme Court granted bail to the 14 criminals involved in the case in Jan 2020. This is a true example of justice delayed, denied and disavowed, concomitantly to the Muslims, as predicted by the Quaid, much before the Partition.

The Indian armed forces continue to commit human rights violations in Muslim-majority Jammu and Kashmir State, and in the northeastern states-- But members of the military are rarely investigated or prosecuted as they are shielded under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act

Gross human rights violations in India have similarly been documented by multiple human rights

Today, most of the top posts in the Indian government are occupied by members or former members of the RSS, who are firmly committed to the ideology of Hindu ultra-nationalism, Nazi racism and Mussolini's fascism

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bodies like the UN Human Rights Office (OHCHR),[3] Amnesty International[4] (AI) and the Human Rights Watch (HRW). The HRW observed in 2014 that 'Muslims were arbitrarily detained, interrogated, and tortured on suspicion of terrorism; later investigations found that members of Hindu extremist groups were actually responsible for some of these. The Indian armed forces continue to commit human rights violations in Muslim-majority Jammu and Kashmir State, and in the northeastern states. But members of the military are rarely investigated or prosecuted as they are shielded under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act. Despite repeated domestic and international condemnations calling for repeal of the law; it remains in force, due largely to military opposition'.[5] The AI endorsed these findings in November 2018 and the OHCHR confirmed the many atrocities in its update on Kashmir in Jul 2019.

Last year, Mr. Modi used every lever of his power and his nexus with the RSS, to deploy the most immoral schemes like 'divide and rule', Muslim and Kashmiri bashing and abuse of the Indian security apparatus, for aggression and false flag operations against Pakistan, to seize a second term in May 2019. Soon after, it disturbed the status quo in IIOJK by scrapping Article 370[6] of its constitution and imposed a curfew, to prevent mast protests, with 'close to 9.5 lakh personnel from its army, air force and paramilitary forces deployed. The official deception and lies of the Indian media to justify this action and barbarities of the Indian security forces to enforce the legislation were elaborately and accurately documented in Dec, by The New Yorker.[7] "The recent attempts to alter the demography of IIOJK, by granting domicile to Indian nationals,[8] is being bitterly opposed, while the curfew, that includes internet blackout, continues". While the minorities were always regarded less Indian earlier, the conversion of a centuries old mosque into a Hindu temple and the notorious Citizens Amendment Act (CAA) in Feb 2020, also prompted massive demonstrations, arrests, deaths and internet shutdowns across India, till the COVID 19 lockdown, which was abused to crush all opposition and dissent, to the devious legislation and to further establish its majoritarian political agenda.

Due to its persistent refusal to settle its disputes peacefully with its neighbors, India has been the world's largest importer of major arms for many years , though sixty percent of its 1.3 billion people are poor

Today, most of the top posts in the Indian government are occupied by members or former members of the RSS, who are firmly committed to the ideology of Hindu ultra-nationalism, Nazi racism and Mussolini's fascism. Besides, 33 percent of the Indian minorities belonging to the lower caste Dalits and Muslims are multi-dimensionally poor,[9] 'majority of prisoners in Indian jails are also from these two minorities[10] and 'more than 55 percent of under- trials in India are Muslims, Dalits or tribals, according to official Indian data'.[11] Similar instances have been cited by the US Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF), who gave India its lowest rating in its annual report for 2020.[12]

An authentic Indian publication reported in 2015 that its Northeastern States (NES) are very disturbed and disclosed that the government had been using a policy of divide and rule in these areas, through the involvement of RAW for using one faction against the other group.[13] The NES include Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland, where the people are fighting for their political and religious rights, which are being denied to them by more than 200 thousands Indian troops.[14] Further, a minority, less than thirty percent of Indian population, comprising upper caste Hindus, is ruling a majority of low caste Hindus who are treated like slaves and despised, since a very long time. Thus, India is clearly violating the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which instructs: 'Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by rule of law'.[15]

Further, due to its persistent refusal to settle its disputes peacefully with its neighbors, India has

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been the world's largest importer of major arms for many years,[16] though sixty percent of its 1.3 billion people are poor.[17] Last year, CNN revealed that India is now the world leader in internet shutdowns,[18] aimed at suppressing protests against the government. Since all these matters have profound implications for the region, Pakistan and India itself, they merit further deliberation.

Purpose and Scope

This treatise is aimed at an evidence based appraisal of the predicament of the principal Indian minorities and the people of the IIOJK; the response options available to them, along with their impact on the unity of India and regional peace; with a view to draw conclusions, proffer recommendations and indicate a way forward for the world, India and Pakistan.

Predicament of Main Minorities

The Plight of Indian Muslims

At the time of Partition in August 1947, most Muslims subscribed to the idea of Pakistan, but some chose to stay back in India, because of four reasons: fear of the unknown, to retain their properties, maintain ties with their extended families or simply because they couldn't afford to migrate. Thereafter, as long as India maintained a constitutional commitment to secularism, it saw some religious harmony. But this ended in 1969, when over 400 Muslims were murdered by Hindu extremists in the Indian state of Gujarat.[19] Thereafter, religious violence against Muslims was repeatedly incited for political reasons, making them feel insecure inside their homeland. But since the coming into power of the BJP government in 2014, Indian Muslims have constantly been persecuted, brazenly discriminated and systematically victimised. Today, Mr. Modi's party and its affiliates have demanded that 'India's Muslims should reconvert to Hinduism and hand over various mosques and shrines to the Hindus. The symbols of Muslim identity like beards, caps and head scarves invite suspicion, scorn and even violence in India. The scariest trend has been the murdering of Muslims suspected of possessing

A frequent war cry of the murderous--- mobs that have overrun India's streets is "Mussalman ka ek hi sthan, kabristan ya Pakistan!"—Only one place for the Mussalman, the graveyard or Pakistan

beef, for ferrying home cattle, purchased legitimately from markets elsewhere'.[20] A senior BJP leader, Subramanian Swamy recently told a foreign news agency that 'They (Muslims) are not in an equal category (among Indian citizens').[21] As the Hindu Right controls the state, as well as non-state apparatuses, the social and economic boycott of Muslims has pushed them further down the societal ladder and made them unwelcome in public spaces and housing colonies. For reasons of safety as well as necessity, in urban areas, many Muslims, including the elite, are retreating into enclaves that are often hatefully referred to as "Mini-Pakistans." A frequent war cry of the murderous mobs that have overrun India's streets is "Mussalman ka ek hi sthan, kabristan ya Pakistan!"-Only one place for the Mussalman, the graveyard or Pakistan.[22] In the IIOJK, where 8 million people are struggling to survive under the heaviest military occupation in the world, thousands of Kashmiris, including children, civil-society activists and political figures, are imprisoned since 5 Aug 2019. Here the internet is continuously shut, firewalled and weaponized for nearly a year, and what has been recently allowed is known as a white list, a handful of régime sanctioned websites that excludes social media platforms.[23] The CAA is also manifestly discriminatory against Muslims and could create unprecedented statelessness and is comparable to the government of Nazi Germany which had the power to decide who was a rightful citizen and who wasn't. Thus in December 2019 the first to react were the students of Aligarh Muslim University and Delhi's Jamia Millia Islamia. In response, students were ruthlessly beaten and some were maimed, anger spread to campuses across the country and spilled over into the streets. Outraged citizens led by students and Muslim women, occupied Delhi's iconic Shaheen Bagh for months to protest, tens of thousands and sometimes a hundred thousand people, blocked a major road for almost two

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Islamophobia in India is widespread, and the Indian Supreme Court has legalized, without evidence, the construction of a Hindu temple, on the site of a 470-year-old mosque at Ayodhya

months. The anthem of this new uprising was a variation of the chant of the Kashmiri freedom struggle, "Hum kya chahtey hen? Azadi!-What do we want? Freedom" The protesters in India were also calling for freedom from caste and repression. On the streets, every one was aware that any sympathy for the Kashmiri cause expressed will be met by nationalist hellfire when it comes to Muslims; for everything even parking tickets and petty crime different rules apply. That is how deeply unwell India has become. Police in the state were entering people's homes at night, terrorizing and looting them. People spoke of being kept naked and beaten for days in police custody. They described how hospitals had turned away critically injured people, how Hindu doctors had refused to treat them. Modi, as usual blamed the protests on Pakistan. To the Hindu fascists, Muslims are the "internal enemy" whose real loyalties lie outside India. A well-known taunt thrown at Muslims as well as anyone else who challenges the Hindu nationalist view is: go to Pakistan'.[24] Many Indians, especially the poor Muslims, lack documentary evidence of when and where they were born; even birth certificates have become widespread only in recent decades. While non-Muslims would not be bothered, undocumented Muslims would abruptly bear the onus of proving that they are Indians. A prominent Indian parliamentarian is of the view that after the CAA, India stands isolated, its soul stands divided and it is in turmoil due to the Modi government's political recklessness.[25]

Islamophobia in India is widespread, and the Indian Supreme Court has legalized, without evidence,[26] the construction of a Hindu temple, on the site of a 470-year-old mosque at Ayodhya. To erase Muslims heritage in India, BJP lawmakers want the renaming of the Taj Mahal as Shivaji, Ram or Krishna Mahal.[27] The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh (UP), with approximately 45 million Muslims, is the founder of the Yuva Vahini, a Hindu terrorist organization and has stated that he wouldn't stop until he turns UP and India into a Hindu state. In February 2015 he commented: 'If given a chance, we will install statues of Hindu deities in every mosque'.[28] Hindu extremist organizations carried out terrorist attacks against Muslims like the 2006 Malegaon blasts, the Mecca Masjid bombing (Hyderabad), and the 2007 Samjhauta Express bombings (also linked to Prasad Shrikant Purohit, an Indian army officer) and the Ajmer Sharif Dargah blasts.[29] In February and March 2020, multiple foreign media outlets, including the BBC reported that during the violence in Delhi against the CAA, hundreds of Muslims, had been killed or injured in a planned manner, with numerous well-documented examples, showing the police aiding the attackers, and the victims concluding: 'We will have to protect ourselves from now on. Delhi will not save us any more'.[30]

Totaling around 201 million (2018 estimate), India's Muslims constitute the world's third-largest and biggest Muslim-minority population. They represent a majority of the local population (96 percent) in Lakshadweep and IIOJK (70 percent). The largest concentration about 47 percent of all Muslims live in the three states of UP, West Bengal, and Bihar. Dense but scattered concentrations of Muslims are also found in 15 other states.[31] The share of Muslims in India's 545 seat lower house of parliament is currently at a 50 year low. In the 1980 election, almost 10 percent of those elected were Muslim. In 2014, it was less than 4 percent. Although Muslim population in India is 14.2 percent of the total (2011 census), but their representation in the Lower House comes to less than 5 percent of its composition. This trend does not auger well for the future of the Muslims, who are 'expected to number 311 million by 2050, making India a country with the largest population of Muslims in the world'.[32] If they were a nation by themselves at that time, they would be the fourth largest in the world, after China, India and the US. However, the Muslims are not flourishing as their share in elite government services in 2006 was less than 5 percent, according to an Indian government report[33] and these days, they are politically disenfranchised and denied their fundamental rights. While they lament this attitude, it scares and angers

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India has always been an apartheid state, as the 'Caste System' in the Hindu religion, ordains and promotes gross inequality per se

them and often makes them wonder in despair, at the apathy of their fellow citizens, the clear bias of the Indian judiciary against them, the prejudice of the media towards their plight and the inaction of world at their predicament. Due to such xenophobic treatment, Indian Muslims have started to see the wisdom and logic behind the Two Nations Theory, cited above. As over 38 percent[34] of Muslims continue to live in poverty in urban areas; the above historic remarks of the Quaid are even more relevant in India, as they were, before the Partition. But while the Muslims are the main targets of oppression, other minorities, particularly the Dalits, Christians and Sikhs are also harassed and discriminated against.

The Caste Division of India- Dalits and Others

India has always been an apartheid state, as the 'Caste System' in the Hindu religion, ordains and promotes gross inequality per se. As Hindus are split into four main rigid societal groups, according to their birth and work, it brings to fore the grave dangers faced by human rights and equality in India, that are so dear to most modern nation-states and which are prominently enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). These rights entitle everyone to freedom without distinction of birth, religion, race, caste, colour, etc. Not so for over 300 million[35] low caste Hindus, called Dalits and Scheduled Tribes, who live in India and over 36 percent[36] of whom are poor. They are ostracized, segregated, humiliated, discriminated and condemned as 'untouchables' by the high caste Hindus. Most of them practice Hinduism but not of the kind done by the higher castes, from which they are excluded in local religious life. In the literature of Dalit liberation and ideology, their writers and poets declare war on Hinduism and Dalits who follow their spiritual leader, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who abandoned Hinduism due to its 'official gospel of inequality', are convinced that they cannot redeem their dignity while remaining within Hinduism and exhort their followers to stop worshipping Hindu gods'.[37] Thus, millions of Dalits have converted to other religions to escape tyranny, but this right is now being denied to them by the state and the RSS. They have been given some quotas in government jobs and education etc. for which they have to provide documentary proofs of their low caste, which is cumbersome exercise and is essentially meant to prevent their conversion.

Cast also plays a pivotal role in the distribution and control of knowledge, power, property, resources, sexuality and dignity. For instance, 'the high classes Hindus hold 41 percent of the total wealth in the country, which is almost double their population size of 22.28 percent'.[38] The World Inequality Data Base reported that 'Upper Caste households earn nearly 47% more than the national average earning'.[39] The National Geographic noted that 'nearly 90 percent of all the poor Indians and 95 percent of all the illiterate Indians are Dalits'[40] and in 2016, over 40800 cases of atrocities against Dalits was recorded[41] in India, mainly in UP, Bihar and Rajasthan. Thus, though Dalits are Hindus, they are actually a minority, since they are a socially subordinate and underprivileged group, due to their cast.

Over the past seven years, India has risen from No. 31 to No. 10 on Open Doors' World Watch List, in persecution severity of Christians.

Christians and Tribes in North East India

About 32 million Christians live in India and Christianity is the third-most followed religion after Hinduism and Islam. They are in majority in four North Eastern Indian states of Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh, with substantial presence in Tripura and Sikkim. Over 200,000 security forces are assigned internal security tasks in these and other distressed and persecuted north Indian states. According to Wikipedia, anti-Christian violence in India has been seen by the HRW as a tactic used to meet political ends. The acts of violence include arson of churches, conversion of Christians by force, sexual assaults, murder of Christian priests and destruction of their schools, colleges, and cemeteries. Hindus who convert to Christianity are harassed, deported and often murdered. Pope John Paul II' has also stated that "free exercise of the natural right to religious freedom was prohibited in India".[42] Over the past seven years, India has risen from No. 31 to No. 10 on Open Doors' World Watch List, in persecution severity of Christians. In the past Pope Benedict XVI and the Vatican has expressed their concerns on this. As of 2020, USCIRF has equated India in minority persecution with North Korea.[43]

Indian Sikhs

Totaling about 31 million worldwide, India's Sikh population stands at approximately 21 million, 76% of which lives in the Indian State of Punjab, forming about two-thirds majority of the population there. After the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984

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The persistence of caste and the attacks of the ruling class on its own people and constitution have greatly shrunk pluralism and democracy in India

by two of her Sikh bodyguards, for the desecration of the Golden Temple in Amritsar, the Hindus killed 3,000 Sikhs in New Delhi and at least 8,000 more across India.[49] At least 50,000 Sikhs were also displaced; their properties destroyed and their women gang-raped,[50] with the help of the police, who were empowered to detain suspects for any reason, ostensibly as suspected terrorists. The police were accused of killing unarmed suspects in staged shootouts and burning thousands of dead bodies to cover up the murders. This included the cremation of over 2,000 bodies of Punjab policemen not collaborating in "counter-terror" operations. The Indian CBI, the Supreme Court of India and the National Human Rights Commission of India certified the validity of this data.[51] Today Sikhs, all over India,[52] and abroad, in countries like Bangladesh, Canada and Germany[53] are under surveillance by the Indian authorities on suspicion of separatism. Though the Sikhs have been demanding for a separate homeland in India since long, they have now demanded a global referendum, among the international Sikh community, between 2020 and 2022, on the question of succession from India and establishing Punjab as an independent country.[54] Sikhs continue to face discrimination in Indian states other than Punjab. Outside, the suspected Khalistan supporters in India are "harassed by police and Intelligence agencies and in many cases falsely implicated in criminal cases which take years to resolve".[55]

Bizarre Tests of Patriotism

These days, non-Hindus in India are also facing weird and terrifying tests to prove their patriotism. The verification of one such test is reliant on what they eat. If they dare to eat beef in public; they are criminals worth lynching by a mob and storing beef, even in the freezer can invite the wrath of the 'cow vigilantes'.[56] Why? Because Hindus believe that such habits could mean complicity in the 'murder' of holy animals. Another test includes chanting of the 'Jay shiri ram' (glory to Rama) cry by the non-Hindus, to prove their loyalty.

Conclusions

International Ramifications for India

The persistence of caste and the attacks of the ruling class on its own people and constitution have greatly shrunk pluralism and democracy in India. As

Constitutionally, India is a secular democracy; however it has morphed into the world's biggest theocracy where religious prejudice is sponsored by the state.

the movement built on hate in India continues to sustain itself by creating strife and fear, the Indian mainland, home to the world's so called biggest democracy has become 'the global leader in internet shutdowns, far outpacing even authoritarian states.'[57] These developments have substantially tarnished India's reputation and the international cost to India of pursuing numerous, flawed domestic and foreign policies has climbed sharply. The world now sees India's dark face through many lenses. Some are calling it self-centered, isolated and oblivious of the world around it. Others have named it a fascist state, dictatorial polity and policies. It is also termed a rouge state, because of disregard of international treaties and obligations with China, Pakistan (UNSC resolutions, Shimla pact, Indus Water Treaty etc.), Bhutan and Nepal. Even Bangladesh, an ally of India is unnerved at the Indian interior minister's threats of pushing Bengali migrants into the Bay of Bengal and calling them 'termites'. Constitutionally, India is a secular democracy; however it has morphed into the world's biggest theocracy where religious prejudice is sponsored by the state. The Economist published a cover page titled 'Intolerant India' in Jan 2020 and the situation in India recently compelled the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) to place India on the 'list of countries of particular concern', recommending "targeted sanctions on Indian government agencies and officials responsible for severe violations of religious freedom and human rights by freezing those individuals' assets and/or barring their entry into the US'. Many Indian intellectuals, living abroad have accused the BJP of sowing divisions in India and questioned if India can break up along the lines of its own caste divisions. The

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It appears that Under the BJP and RSS rule, the Indian past is reinventing itself, and becoming its present, preventing it from escaping the captivity of its desires

'Time' magazine described Modi as India's "divider in chief" with Modi's picture on the cover of its May 20 edition.[53] Attacks on Muslims have also prompted condemnation and concern from the OIC and a backlash from some Gulf States. Lastly, slogans and signs of nuclear preemption have portrayed India as a reckless state that could destabilize Asia.[54]

Domestic Repercussions for India

It appears that Under BJP and RSS rule, the Indian past is reinventing itself, and becoming its present, preventing it from escaping the captivity of its desires. So, with bigotry as its defining ideal, can India and its minorities endure another four years of the RSS and BJP rule? Probably yes, but this will certainly take India to a very dark place. Indian leaders are likely to continue accusing neighbours, to mask their inability to resolve the inherent contradiction in their society due to the prevalence of the caste system, through the slogan of Hindutva. They will also attempt to retain the supremacy of the Hindu upper caste, mainly from anti-minorities platforms, but will not hesitate to target anyone who stands in the way of the perpetuation of their agenda and rule. This paradox has the potential to severely destabilize the Indian society, erode its secular construct and even imperil its union. While some democratic forces will lament this outcome, it will not be widely condemned by the Indian corporate media or those affected by it, due to favors by the state, fear of reprisals or both. However, in terms of its international image and stature, India is and will continue to pay a heavy price for the continuation of such policies.

India is spending bulk of its military budget on internal security, with diminishing returns, due to its flawed policies in IIOJK and the NE. The resultant, incessant attrition of its forces and the financial cost by India is clearly prohibitive, given the state of its post Covid economy and the needs of spending on minorities or development. This will continue to prevent India's rise, even as a regional power. Unilateral actions, in defiance of UN resolutions, on the status of IIOJK have additional political, diplomatic and military costs as well, like the standoff at Laddakh between India and China in Jun 2020. When equated with China, this cost is clearly unsustainable for India. Thus the real threats to India are from its own unsound policies and not its neighbors.

The Maoist Revolution in India

The three broad options available to the minorities to deal with their difficulties include: First; Prayer, Petition and Protest. Second; Use of Political Means combined with the first option and finally; endeavors for self-rule or separate homelands

Options for Indian Minorities

The three broad options available to the minorities to deal with their difficulties include: First; Prayer, Petition and Protest. Second; Use of Political Means combined with the first option and finally; endeavors for self-rule or separate homelands.

As part of the first option, the range of protests against the CAA, the legislation about IIOJK and the treatment of minorities have included mild non-cooperation, passive defiance, nonviolent resistance, marches, placard-waving, and other pacific methods. Non-violent obstruction of access to airports or blocking main highways were wisely avoided, as they could turn public opinion against them and help legitimizes legal actions or force against protesters. But in future, if the government uses violence against peaceful protesters, it could compel them to commit acts of violence to protect themselves, as modern democratic thought has long held that individuals have a right to counter-violence in self-defense, against tyrannical government and political injustices. This will certainly develop a momentum of its own, which might go beyond this customary and current option.

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Ironically and paradoxically, opposition to India's division may be against the divine beliefs of the ruling castes in India, of strict exclusion from all 'impure' and lowly people

The emphasis in the second option is on a durable and collective political struggle, combined with all other peaceful measures, stated above. As part of this course, Indian Muslims had devised a political survival strategy since the rise of the extremists in India in 1989, which was based on cooperating with other social groups to vote for the party best placed to defeat the BJP, but this did not succeed. The main reason for this was the dispersal of Muslims all over India, apart from some areas in the north and north-eastern states. Besides, due to widespread Islamophobia, Muslims politicians found it difficult to attract votes from people of other faiths or social classes. Both these factors are prevalent even now, though the CAA protests saw some harmony between Muslims, Dalits and followers of anti-caste and class leaders. Though this fragile alliance was decimated by the government's fake-news projects, it could lead to the desired unity among all minorities to acquire more political space, regain some of their constitutional rights and also attempt that the BJP and RSS combine does not get another term. By 2060, Pew estimates, that there will be more Muslims in India than anywhere else in the world and they will constitute 19% of Indians. However, their representation in the parliament is unlikely to rise, without formation of coalitions with others. The same is true for others, as individually the minorities lack both sufficient electoral numbers and strong, charismatic leadership to steer them out of this predicament. Unless they realise and address these weaknesses they will continue to be marginalised, Hinduised, victimised and dehumanized. Together, the minorities named above (including scheduled tribes and others) comprise nearly half the population of India, which could be their real strength. Besides, they must reject those politicians among them, who are either sympathetic to the present regime or show hesitance to speak for their rights. They must individually and collectively ask for an increase in reservations, not only in public sector employment and education, but more essentially, the insurance of a specified ratio of representation for them in all elective bodies at the state and federal levels. Only through political harmony, backed by sustained pacific efforts can they hope to get, what is rightfully theirs. In places where minorities are overly dispersed and mingled with the high class Hindus, some internal displacement by them to other safer places, where they have bigger population clusters, will be inevitable but this will reduce their vulnerability and ensure substantial political empowerment.

If the two options stated above miscarry, the minorities could be constrained to resort to the last choice of self-rule or separation from India. This option will surely be countered by the state with ruthless force, like the siege of the Golden Temple in Amritsar in 1984 and the present Indian actions in Kashmir. This may temporarily suppress the uprising; but the foundations of a second partition of India, would have been formally laid, which could then be strengthened by other means, as outlined in the previous options. Indian cities are already segregated on the basis of religion and caste. But such reactions could eventually lead to the split-up of India, purely on the basis of the people's wishes, beliefs, caste, ethnicity and demography, in accordance with the ratio of their respective population[55] and geographic dictates, similar to the first Partition in 1947. It may comprise a large and distinct homeland for upper caste and radical Hindus, called Akhand Bharat and sixteen separate territories for the minorities. The latter could include a confederation of six 'Islamic States of India' for the Muslims in West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, portions of UP, Kerala and Lakshadweep Islands etc., where they have a sizeable presence. Further division could comprise autonomous states for Dalits carved out of UP, West Bengal, Bihar and Tamil Nadu based on their demographic profile; Khalistan for the Sikhs in Indian Punjab and independence or self-rule for the Nagas, Mizos Tamils, Tripuris, Manipuris, Karbis, Kamtapuris and Bodos, etc. By uniting contiguous states and union territories, wherever possible, this division could produce segregated homelands for upper and low caste Hindus that will suit both, due to caste considerations and geographical dictates. This will also resolve the problem of the size of present day India, which is too big to manage economically[56] or even to rule effectively. To some, this scenario may appear far-fetched, but it is less

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India has the dubious and senseless distinction of being the second biggest arms importer of the world in 2020, though it ranks at 129th position in the global human development index, with nearly 22 percent of its population living below poverty line and an abysmal ranking of 184 out of 191, in terms of its spending on healthcare, at 1.15% of the GDP

unpredictable than the breakup of the Soviet Union. It may also be chaotic but less messy than a civil war and could be compared with events of the break-up of Yugoslavia, out of which many stable, more unified and peaceful states have emerged. The new states may probably be more at peace with themselves and with others, as rationalised earlier. Even with their relatively small sizes, they may be more cohesive and manageable; resembling what India was, prior to the British rule. The historical context of the Sub-Continent also reveals that India was never a single country in the past, as it comprised a loose union of many states that were ruled successfully by numerous dynasties.[57] Ironically and paradoxically, opposition to India's division may be against the divine beliefs of the ruling castes in India, of strict exclusion from all 'impure' and lowly people.

If the minorities are denied all the above options, they may be compelled to resort to civil disobedience and violent resistance, which may lead to their genocide or a protracted civil war in India, internal displacement, cross border movement of refugees and migration abroad by millions. This may be the doomsday scenario for India and the world.

The Price of Retention and Altering the Status of IIOJK

Indian attempts to alter the status of IIOJK, has once again underscored Kashmir as a serious dispute among three nuclear neighbors, with global

implications. It has also evinced a sense of bitterness, injustice, disillusionment and humiliation among Kashmiris, all over the world. It has also united all the pro-plebiscite Kashmiri political parties and factions like the APHC, Hurriat Conference and many others, with pro government parties like the People's Democratic Party and the National Conference etc, against the government. This has further consolidated and fueled the Kashmiris struggle for freedom. As it violates India's own constitution, the decision has further complicated the Kashmir issue for everyone. By making Kargil as part of Laddakh, it has put over 78 percent of the Muslim population in Kargil sub-region to a major disadvantage, as previously they looked towards the Kashmir Valley for their political and social empowerment; this could trigger a migration any time. Political engineering has labeled India from an 'administrator' to a 'coloniser' of Kashmir and in July 2020, the UN Special Rapporteurs sent their third communication to India since August 5, 2019, expressing 'grave concern over alleged excessive use of force, ill treatment during arrests and detentions.[58] The EU and OIC have raised similar apprehensions repeatedly. The information siege in IIOJK for nearly a year (till September), has comprehensively externalized the Kashmir dispute and has attracted wide condemnation by the international media outlets, many Western governments, various human rights organizations and the OIC. All this has badly tarnished the Indian image abroad and outraged the conscience of mankind. Coupled with the reactions to the CAA, this milieu has also overstretched the Indian diplomatic and economic options, to pursue their present policies or to retain IIOJK for long. Similarly, bulk of the Indian Army, Civil Armed Forces and Police are employed on one mission: To retain IIOJK. For this, India is spending over $ 71 billion annually on its defense expenditure,[59] which was approximately 32 per cent of the total capital outlay of the government in 2019.[60] For many decades, heavy expenditure on internal security is merely being squandered, due to lack of support from the local population. This support is now non-existent. It is mainly due to this 'mission impossible' that India has the dubious and senseless distinction of being the second biggest arms importer of the world[61] in 2020, though it ranks at 129th position in the global human development index,[62] with nearly 22 percent of its population living below poverty line[63] and an abysmal ranking of 184 out of 191, in terms of its spending on healthcare, at 1.15% of the GDP.[64] A boom in Kashmiri

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While the thought of India's disintegration could possibly sober up its leaders, compel them to abandon their hazardous ideologies and reverse their fallacious dogmas, however, it is more likely that the fear of India's split-up may induce disproportionate government responses against the minorities that could accelerate India's division or a impel a civil war in India

economy and creation of millions of new jobs was given as a rationale for the Indian actions in Kashmir last year, however, by Aug 2020, the curfew and lockdown of IIOJK had cost its economy more than $ 5.3 billion and the loss of over 500,000 jobs.[45] While the human cost of these tasks to its security forces is substantial, it has never been released by the Indian government. Even NATO has realized in Afghanistan that any amount of spending on security will not succeed without backing by the people. However, India appears unwilling to learn from this example. The India-China standoff due to renewed illegal Indian claims over Chinese territory in east Laddakh and Aksai Chin and the Chinese reaction to this has obligated India to earmark substantial forces to defend the LAC, by thinning out from elsewhere but this will eventually need separate resources, with additional costs. All these spending will inhibit developmental spending, that will enhance India's internal vulnerabilities.

Recommendations and the Way Forward

Global Repercussions and Obligations

By now, the world powers must have recognized the following five drivers behind the present behavior of the BJP rulers. First: they rely on fear, religious divisions and war mongering that attracts votes; they have created the hype of a two-front threat from China and Pakistan, for the same purpose, and for enticing US support and they will even seek war, due to their lust for power. Second; promotion of interfaith harmony or peace in Kashmir does not bring political benefits as violence and despair of religious minorities and Kashmiri Muslims do. Third; it is much easier to demonise minorities, externalize inefficient governance and scapegoating neighbors; specifically Pakistan (as its default mode), than to manage the economy, bring about internal stability, resolve disputes or manage conflicts. Fourth; Mr. Modi is severely handicapped in governance matters due to his earlier (chai wala) back ground and his innate hate and contempt for all things that are non-Hindu. Finally, the BJP is trying to suppress individual, religious and ethnic identities and nationalities to impose the Hindutva ideology in India, but this will fail and could even cause its collapse, like a similar Yugoslav experience that failed in 1989. All this demonstrates that the major challenges facing India are self-induced and essentially internal. This warrants careful monitoring of India's perilous and stressed national security landscape that is clearly susceptible to a partition redux, an open rebellion in IIOJK, domestic radicalization of the minorities and chaos by influx of international non-state actors. While the thought of India's disintegration could possibly sober up its leaders, compel them to abandon their hazardous ideologies and reverse their fallacious dogmas, however, it is more likely that the fear of India's split-up may induce disproportionate government responses against the minorities that could accelerate India's division or impel a civil war in India. Thus, if pacific options of the Indian minorities fail, their democratic option of self-rule or separation from India may have to be reckoned with by the big powers, as this will be less shambolic than a civil war. The wishes of the Indian minorities cannot be ignored anymore, due to the enormity of their size, their deprivation, the nature and scale of their oppression and their adverse consequences. Neither can the world overlook the dangers of the new spike in India's revisionism and ultra-nationalism. Thus, all friends of India, particularly Russia and the US must intervene urgently, to prevent it from undermining itself and the regional environment. They must pre-empt genocide of minorities, mass internal displacement and unprecedented migration by Indians abroad; creating a global crisis and stop their bets on the BJP rulers, as they are a liability and a cause of embarrassment for India and for them, due to their undemocratic and

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As India's information siege of IIOJK continues for over a year, it remains a blot on the conscience of humanity and all the big powers, warranting correction by the big powers and the UNSC

apartheid practices. It is in their interest to admonish the Saffron brigade for their deafness to the wellbeing of its own citizens and to make their support to India conditional to equal treatment, economic benefits, religious and job protection to their minorities. Contrarily, they should back the people, if they perceive themselves at mercy of the 'Hindu Raj,' and demand 'Azadi' (freedom), from oppression. If the world powers dither from this, the onus of the anarchy and fragmentation of India will be on them as well. In that case, India's nuclear weapons will have to be managed, as it was done after the breakup of the Soviet Union. Even otherwise, the world must heed the Pakistani leadership's grave concern and warning over the possession of nuclear weapons by Indian fanatics, which are seriously endangering the security of the entire world.

The international community needs to compel India to annul its unilateral actions to change the status of IIOJK as it has endangered regional peace, caused tensions among three nuclear neighbors and violates the UDHR. As India's information siege of IIOJK continues for over a year, it remains a blot on the conscience of humanity and all the big powers, warranting correction by the big powers and the UNSC.

While the role of foreign media has generally been commendable, fair and impartial during the coverage of the horrific rise of the BJP and its impact, it seems to have faded somewhat due to the Corona Pandemic. Nevertheless, this subject is too vital to be overlooked and will need their unceasing attention.

Due to its influential position, the US has a bigger and onerous responsibility to preserve peace in Asia that is home to a quarter of the world's population. However, US procrastination on the grave human rights violations of its minorities and Kashmiris by India is disturbing the regional tranquility, causing mass resentment and tarnishing the US reputation in India and abroad, particularly among the two billion Muslims worldwide. To offset this, the US may implement the recommendations of the 2020 report of USCIRF in India and press for release of Muslim leaders and innocent citizens, during the CAA protests and those detained without charge since 5 Aug 2019 in IIOJK. Contrarily, they must accept if the Indian minorities act on what Thomas Jefferson believed, while drafting the American Declaration of Independence: 'if rulers exceeded their constitutional authority, the people would in principle be justified if they resorted to armed revolt'. To avert this, Washington must use its leverage with New Delhi to end the barbarities in Kashmir, support the UN resolutions on Kashmir and prevent India from misusing the FATF and aggression against Pakistan. Conversely, US efforts to reshape the Asian architecture, including the Afghan peace process will miscarry. Finally, the control of the Indian nuclear weapons by Hindu extremists should be a matter of grave concern for the US, whether India stays united or divided.

Since all Indian Muslims have been cast as internal enemies by their rulers; the panacea of their survival and future, lies in their own political unity, alliances with other minorities and their persistence, to prevent the larger entities from subsuming them

As the OIC is mandated to be the savior and the voice of the two billion Muslims and their aspirations, it needs to shun its seclusion and play an immediate, assertive and practical role to protect the Indian Muslims and Kashmiris from oppression.

Role of Indian Masses and Media

The people of India must know that creation of internal strife and antagonism against neighbors, to mask policy failures, gain votes or divert attention from the ill treatment of its people, may benefit some politicians but it is suicidal for India, which they can prevent. They must comprehend the logic of Mr. Nehru's commitment to the world on Kashmir that: 'We would ultimately abide by the verdict of their plebiscite, we have given our word of honour and we cannot go back on it'. Patriotic citizens could either prevent the fundamentalists in India from using religion and national security for political mileage, through the power of the ballot, or face national schism. They must also question the enormous and unaffordable military spending, at the cost of their welfare. Since all Indian Muslims have been cast as internal enemies by their rulers; the panacea of their survival and future, lies in their own political unity, alliances with other minorities and their persistence, to prevent the larger entities from subsuming them. Hopefully, the free Indian media will also resort to honest, responsible and courageous reporting on the loss of the minority's sentiment of cohesion, damage to their country's

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The domestic and international costs of Indian internal and external policies, including its cold war with China, exceeds their benefits, due to which it stands isolated, more insecure and vulnerable

reputation and erosion of domestic and regional peace, due to their ruler's policies.

Response by the People of IIOJK

The people of IIOJK must refuse to live as 'subjects' or second rate citizens in India, even if their quasi-statehood is restored by India. Their ultimate goal is their right of self-determination, bestowed by the UN, which cannot be rescinded by Indian domestic legislation, passed without their consent. The present unprecedented unity that has emerged by default, across their political divide is a great prospect for Kashmiris, living all over the world, to continue their struggle, against the siege of their liberties, the division of their homeland and distribution of their lands to non-Kashmiris. They must be rest assured that like the Afghan issue, the use of the military instrument by India to solve a political dispute sans their consent, will never succeed. They should therefore be certain about their final victory, shun factional internal politics, remain steadfast in their resolve and be ready to offer even greater sacrifices for their invincible cause. Towards this end, their young leaders have a bigger and onerous responsibility to lead like Nelson Mandela, who stated during his trial for 'terrorism' in 1963: 'I am prepared to die for freedom'.

Recommendations for Pakistan

The four, visible and entwined shifts in the environments, which favour Pakistan, and that can be leveraged in our national response paradigm, include: One; India will continue to tread on its perilous and suicidal path, as long as the RSS and BJP rule endures. Two; the domestic and international costs of Indian internal and external policies, including its cold war with China, exceeds their benefits, due to which it stands isolated, more insecure and vulnerable. Three; the world has rejected the Indian stance on IIOJK, where the people are more alienated from India and more united among themselves. Finally, as Indian policies are not commensurate with its power potential and the obtaining milieu, it can pursue them only at a great peril to itself. This opportunity has enabled Pakistan to further mobilise international public opinion in favor of its policies, through the following actions: Organize global awareness initiatives and protests, at influential world capitals and issue calendars for the same; extensive use of all social media platforms and managing air time on foreign TV, motivating Muslims/ Kashmiris diaspora to play their role in raising voice for oppressed; publishing a white paper on the geo-strategic implications of Indian treatment of Muslims, Kashmiris and other minorities, as enumerated in this rendition, to sensitize important capitals abroad and foreign missions at Islamabad. This could preferably be done in coordination and consultation with China, the UN, the HRW, OHCHR, AI, USCIRF, the Commission of Human Rights at the Council of EU, and the OIC.

The growing Islamophobia in India and the atrocities in IIOJK must be highlighted through a special, emergency OIC summit for punitive diplomatic and economic sanctions against India. The summit agenda could include direct appeals to all Muslims, owning big private businesses, to sever their dealings with India.

Our national security strategy must focus on convincing the world that India is a state that sponsors terrorists and that Pakistan is the victim. This must comprise provision of the dossiers of all major acts of Indian terrorist activities against it, including the confessional statements of Khalbhushan Yadav, to all members of the OIC, FATF and the UNSC. In coordination with China, Pakistan must demand expansion and enhancing the role of UNMOGIP for conflict management in Kashmir. The security planning must factor in; the implications of control of the Indian nuclear weapons by the RSS zealots, raising the level of international cognizance about this perilous development and the collective global measures for the disposal of this arsenal; in the event of India's break up. A skillful politico-diplomatic strategy, in collaboration

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Due to its policies, India appears on a 'self-destruct' mode and its liberty of action is curtailed for a meaningful land offensive against Pakistan. This should compel India to adopt a policy, based on cooperation with its neighbours

with friendly countries will be needed to support these missions.

Due to its policies, India appears on a 'self-destruct' mode and its liberty of action is curtailed for a meaningful land offensive against Pakistan. This should compel India to adopt a policy, based on cooperation with its neighbours. However, due to political considerations, it is likely to continue its confrontation with Pakistan, through state sponsored terrorism, disinformation campaigns, misuse of FATF for economic coercion and military intimidation at the LOC. To deter this, besides the measures enumerated above, the government has to cater for appropriate defense spending in the budget that has seen constant reductions in the last few years. In either case, it must adopt an aggressive conventional response posture, prompt reprisals, escalation ascendancy in all domains and superior preparedness. To halt the persistent violations of the LOC, we must declare and execute swift retribution against the Indian military command and control centers in IIOJK, in addition to strong retaliation at the sub-tactical level, at the frontline.

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INDIA'S ULTRA-NATIONALISM: A BREEDING GROUND FOR RADICALISM

Amb Fauzia M Sana (Retd)

Namra Naseer

ABSTRACT

India continues to portray itself as the largest democracy in the world while violating all norms of democracy with impunity. Motivated by fascism, RSS, the parent organization of BJP widely follows and propagates ideology of 'Hindutva' i.e. Hindu-ness. The RSS has always been active in India. However, since BJP came to power in 2014, its true motivations started to surface more aggressively. BJP leader Subramanian Swamy categorically stated how Muslims are not equal among equals to the Indian constitution and are generally just unequal to Hindus. This not only constitutes hatred and discrimination against the 200 million Indian Muslims but is also a violation of article 14 of the Indian constitution and Article 1 (2) of the UN Charter. Angry demonstrations by all segments of the civil society throughout India against the CAA and NRC that challenge the foundational concept of a secular India, have been dealt with by the Indian authorities including police and paramilitary forces in a manner reminiscent of the brutally high handed treatment of the people of occupied Kashmir. Inspired by Savarkar, the Hindutva ideology has drawn immense attention in its comparison to Hitler's ideology of fascism. The growing radicalization as a result of BJP politics is not only a threat to Muslims and other non-Hindu minorities in India but is also beginning to have spillover effects in the neighbouring countries. Ultra-nationalism propagated by Hindutva is making India a breeding ground for radicalism. Hindutva is a transnational threat with wide-ranging long-term implications for the stability and security of the South Asian region as well as for the world.

Key words: Ultra-nationalism in India, Hindutva, Radicalization, BJP, RSS, Modi Regime, India, South Asia

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Even the gods worshipped in the South are different from the ones revered in the North. In fact the gods and heroes of the North are mentioned as the villains of the South, in the Hindu holy books

PRELUDE

India today is in the grip of ultra-Hindu nationalism that has its roots in the Hindutva ideology of the early 20th century. The followers of Hindu Mahasabha Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) have aspired for a Hindu Rashtra ever since the Hindu Mahasabha leader Vinayak Damodar Savarkar coined the term "Hindutva" in 1923 with the objective to create a collective Hindu identity. India, however, at the time of independence was declared a democratic republic and later a secular republic against the RSS aspirations. The RSS and BJP have since been exploiting secular and ethnic tensions within India to negate secularism and to create opportunities for the ascendance of ultra-Hindu nationalism. The Ayodhya movement can be considered as a watershed moment in the Hindu nationalists' rise in the Indian national politics.

The oppressive traits of ultra-Hindu nationalism have become more pervasive in India after Prime Minister Narendra Modi's re-election for the second term in 2019. It has challenged the Indian socio-political landscape through exclusionist policies such as the CAA, the NRC in Assam and its planned countrywide implementation, the Ghar Wapsi campaign, and cow raksha vigilantes. Such policies are creating a deep sense of anxiety and identity crisis among the minorities, especially Muslim citizens of India as well as in India's neighboring countries. Hindutva is not limited to the confines of the Indian State. Rather, its fascist overtures like abrogation of the special autonomous status of IIOJK have grave implications on Pakistan in particular and peace and stability of South Asia in general.

ULTRA-NATIONALISM IN INDIA: A CLASH WITH ITS DIVERSITY

In India there has never been a notion of a single Hindu nation even by the standards of Golwalkar. According to official Indian census, there are more than 19,500 languages or dialects spoken in India. The culture (language, cuisine, artifacts, clothing, rituals, ethics) greatly vary from North to South and East to West. Not just the culture, but physical features of people vary drastically as one moves from North to South and East to West. This signifies diverse gene pools in the region which are indicative of migrations.[1]

Even the gods worshipped in the South are different from the ones revered in the North. In fact the gods and heroes of the North are mentioned as the villains of the south, in the Hindu holy books

Hindutva is a highly ethnocentric worldview, which emanates from an inferiority complex. Some extreme rightists in India have a hard time settling with the reality that Muslims ruled over them for almost 700 years. This is manifested in their pursuit to change the names of roads, monuments and cities, which were named after Muslim rulers (saffronisation). Even the iconic Taj Mahal is now being propagated as a symbol of oppression by Muslim rulers. History books are being rewritten to glorify the Hindu past to the exclusion of the Muslim rule. Hindutva is being promoted by the current BJP government to unite the Hindu race by creating a bogey enemy (Muslims).

The Hindutva ideology is in sync with India's aspiration for a major power status. It mobilizes almost 80% of Hindu population in India, by inculcating the passion to reclaim their greatness. It glorifies Hindu warrior gods and promotes bellicosity. This worldview fits well with the muscular stance of the BJP government and its military modernization programs. Ajit Doval, the National Security Advisor to Prime Minister Modi, emphasizes the need of being 'shaktishaali' reflecting Sarvarkar's saying, "first protect the cow and then worship it if you so desire".[2]

Hinduisation of Contemporary India: Road to Catastrophe

Saffronization: India Rewriting History

Currently eight think tanks in India are believed to be shaping Indian foreign and security policies and all are being funded by RSS.[3] This is

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The accumulative view of Indian history is presented in a manner in which Muslims are interpreted as invaders and looters and Pakistan is seen as a residue of those Muslim invaders.

symptomatic of the fact that RSS thinking has uninterrupted access to the Indian strategic community to shape the policies according to the Hindutva worldview. The most prominent think tank is the India Foundation founded by one of the top members of RSS, Surya Doval, son of Ajit Doval, the National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of India.

Another source of Indian strategic culture is the education syllabus. There are systematic efforts by RSS to change the education syllabi in which the notion of subjugation, humiliation and racial superiority are introduced repeatedly. Furthermore, measures are being taken to confiscate the Muslim contribution to Indian history and culture to demonize the centuries of Muslim rule in India. The accumulative view of Indian history is presented in a manner in which Muslims are interpreted as invaders and looters and Pakistan is seen as a residue of those Muslim invaders. India under BJP has thus accentuated hatred against Muslims and Pakistan.[4]

After coming to power, the BJP has resorted to changing the names of the monuments built during the Mughal rule and buildings and roads named after the Mughal kings in a bid to obliterate the Muslim milestones from Indian history. In August 2018, the BJP government renamed the historic Mughal Sarai Junction Railway Station in the state of Uttar Pradesh after the right-wing Hindu ideologue Deen Dayal Upadhyaya. In May 2015, many street signs in New Delhi carrying Muslim names including Aurangzeb Road, named after the sixth Mughal emperor, were painted black by Shiv Sena Hindustan, a radical Hindu organization. Later in that year, the ruling BJP officially changed the name of the Aurangzeb Road to A.P.J Abdul Kalam, a pro-BJP former President of India. In April 2016, the BJP government in Haryana renamed the historic suburban city of Gurgaon next to Delhi as Gurugram. RSS has also demanded that many other places with Muslim names, including the cities of Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, and Aurangabad should be renamed.[5]

BJP government has laid the foundation of the Ram Mandir on 5 Aug 2020 so as to mark one year anniversary of Post 05 Aug decision of revocation of article 370 and 35A

Signification of the Ayodhya Dispute

The Babri Masjid/Ram Janmabhumi (birthplace) dispute has polarized Muslims and Hindus, generating religious and political conflict. The flashpoint between Hindus and Muslims regarding the religious site dates back to 1528 when a masjid was built on the site which Hindus claimed as the 'Ram Janmabhoomi' (Ram's birthplace). This has been bitterly contested by both Muslims and Hindus, main issue being possession of the site.[6] The matter has been subjudice for years until the Supreme Court allowed construction of Mandir recently. BJP government has laid the foundation of the Ram Mandir on 5 Aug 2020, so as to mark one year anniversary of Post 5 Aug decision of revocation of article 370 and 35A.[7]

The RSS boasts on its official website, "Apart from the Kashmir issue, the Sangh has all along been in the forefront in each and every national campaign, be it the "Ban Cow-slaughter" campaign of 1952 or the mass collection drive for the Vivekananda Rock Memorial at Kanyakumari in 1963. The Ekatmata Rath Yatra of Ganga Jal and Bharatmata in 1983 and the later issue of Ram Janmabhoomi temple sponsored by the Sangh Pariwar, have irrefutably established that the Hindu society would respond like a "Virat Purush" (one corporate body), when the innate chord of Hindustan is stimulated to pulsate in every Hindu heart".[8]

Post 5 August Kashmir

One year has passed since India's unilateral decision to revoke Article 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution that bifurcated the State of Jammu and Kashmir, with the explicit objective to change its demography and obliterate the identity of the people of Kashmir. The situation in IIOJK has not changed since. In fact it has aggravated the suffering of the people as the total blackout imposed by India has kept them confined to a virtual prison; the largest concentration camp in the world. Communications are still restricted, arrests and atrocities are a daily routine and the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak has added to the worsening health care for the Kashmiris. On August 22 2019, the Genocide Watch issued two alerts for IIOJK and India's Assam state.[9] The Watch alerted that India was in violation on all the 10 scores that may lead India to be guilty of genocide.[10]

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Pakistan's new map extends the border of the State of Jammu and Kashmir up to the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh as international border. This makes the Line of Control not just a military demarcation line but also a quasi-political dividing line

In addition, with little international media attention, India's Ministry of Home Affairs declared on 01 April 2020 that Kashmir would now be subject to a new domicile law, granting any individual who has resided in IIOJK for 15 years or longer and has studied in education institutes there for 15 years would have the right to own property.[11] More than 500,000 Hindu-Sikh families have been given IIOJK domiciles, all facilities have been withdrawn from former IIOJK Chief Ministers, and all Kashmiri IAS officers have been posted in less important positions. IIOJK has lost control over all universities, Hindu shrines, forest lands and tourist development authorities. Such Indian measures in occupied Kashmir are being implemented to abate the hold of Kashmir and Kashmiri's leadership over the state polity and compel IIOJK's merger with India.[12]

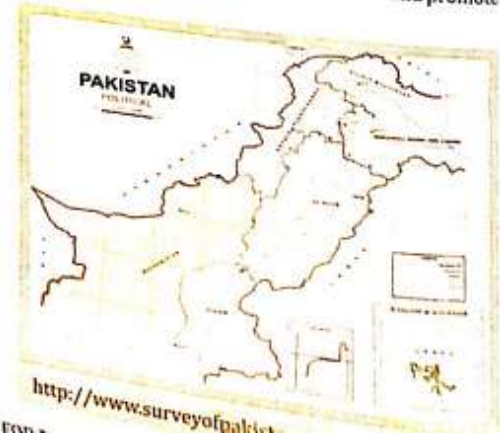
The blatant discrimination against religious minorities, particularly Muslim and Christian minorities has divided the Indian society into Them versus Us, a mindset that breeds hatred, intolerance and encourages ethnic clashes. This is already happening in India. In March 2020, the riots in Delhi were surreptitiously encouraged by the Delhi authorities and the police. The incidents of storming masjids, dragging and beating the Imams and the people who were praying inside, lynching of Muslim students in the prestigious Nehru University and Aligarh University were reminiscent of the communal riots that had erupted all over India but specially brutally in Delhi in 1984 after Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her own Sikh guards in retaliation for her decision to storm the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

On the anniversary of Post 5 August decision on Kashmir, Pakistan by releasing its new official political map has labeled the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir as disputed territory. Pakistan's new map extends the border of the State of Jammu and Kashmir up to the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh as international border. These changes bring the map closer to the political ground reality while abiding by the UNSC resolutions.[13]

Citizenship Amendment Act

A close study of the BJP manifestoes for the 2014 and 2019 elections reveal the crafty utilization of issues at hand by the Modi regime. In order to infuse confidence and win support of all the sub national and ethnic groups, the 2014 manifesto propagated unity among ranks; Sabka Sath Sabka Vikas, (progress, change and development for all). The manifesto specifically spoke of preserving Urdu and Muslim culture and heritage. Whereas, it openly talked about abrogation of Article 370 with regard to IIOJK, the manifesto intentionally made no mention at all of the damaging and more controversial article 35A. To invoke inclusivity and garner vote of Muslim clerics, it also talked about Madrassa preservation and modernization and declaring all communities as equal partners. Last but not the least, it sought to revive and improve India's relations with neighbours, with no conditionality or bias involved.[14] With a reputation of being titled as the Butcher of Gujarat for the 2002 brutal massacre of Muslims (close to 800 Muslims were killed along with enormous loss to their property and livelihood), Modi won with huge majority of Hindu votes. Even many Muslims voted for BJP as they were disappointed with the Congress party and remembered Vajpayee's premiership in the 90s.

The 2019 manifesto with its slogan of Ek Bharat Shreshta Bharat (one India, Pure India) makes an interesting 180 degree flip in terms of language, tenor and priority given to different agenda issues. The tone is belligerent and arrogant. It makes no mention of Urdu, Muslims or their rich culture, history or heritage, let alone preserving these norms. Rather Modi sought to maintain, conserve and promote Bhartiya faith and culture. The manifesto openly seeks implementing the National Register for Citizens countrywide, and the Citizenship Amendment Act Bill to protect and promote



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Hitler had also enacted a Citizenship Act to single out the Jewish population in 1935 just as the National Registry of Citizens by BJP. The Jews were sent to concentration camps

the Hindus, Jains, Buddhists and Sikhs. Muslims are not mentioned intentionally, to make the point that they are not considered part of the same religious order and, therefore, need to be treated differentially.[15]

The animosity and hatred of Hindutva mindset against Muslims is evident from the implementation of the National Register of Citizens (NRC) in Assam where 1.9 million Muslims have virtually been disenfranchised, and in Kashmir where 8 million Kashmiri Muslims have been placed under a virtual blackout and house arrest since August 2019. The Citizenship Amendment Act coupled with BJP's plan to implement NRC nationwide evoked protests and demonstrations in major cities across India which has halted due to COVID-19 pandemic.[16]

Hitler had also enacted a Citizenship Act to single out the Jewish population in 1935 just as the National Registry of Citizens by BJP. The Jews were sent to concentration camps. India is also constructing camps for Muslims who would fail to get their names registered as Indian citizens. The RSS aspiration for Akhand Bharat that would include Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh reflect an expansionist ideology very much akin to Hitler's ideology for a pure Aryan race and a greater Germany. There are striking similarities in their operational strategy also. Revocation of Articles 370 and 35A, annexation of IIOJK, NRC and CAA and to either reconvert Muslims or banish them into camps resembles Hitler's "Final Solution". State sponsored terrorism and mob violence against the Muslims is also reminiscent of Hitler's state sponsored torture and annihilation of the Jews. Textbooks on history are being rewritten in India to either distort or erase the 700 years of Muslim rule, just as the Nazis burned all Jewish books to erase their history. In the name of combatting infiltration, Modi regime is pushing population groups, specifically Assamese Muslims across the eastern border close to Bangladesh. Singling out and confining huge Muslim population groups into camps, is reminiscent of Nazi camps under the genocidal regime of Adolph Hitler, a precursor of the Holocaust.

The MAD Doctrine

The MAD doctrine refers to an amalgamation of three important minds in contemporary India, the trio of Modi-Amit-Doval, Modi being the Prime Minister, Amit Shah BJP's President and Minister for Home Affairs and Ajit Doval the National Security Advisor to Prime Minister Modi. The three in high offices have extensive bearing over India's internal and external policies. Since BJP came to power under Modi's leadership, India has taken and implemented aggressive and belligerent decisions that have brought its secular credentials under question. The BJP government is being criticized within India for undermining the secular character of India.

The MAD trio is the architect of the scheme to revocate Article 370 from the Indian Constitution and to introduce the intrinsically discriminatory CAA and NRC. Under their leadership the Hindutva ideology has become the keystone of India's policy

Modi and Amit Shah are known stalwarts of Hindutva ideology and its propagating arm, the RSS. On the other hand, Ajit Doval is a well-known "hawk" and a proponent of pugnacious strategic thought which is depicted by India's hostile military posture. The MAD trio is pursuing policies that would have long term regional as well as internal implications on India. The MAD trio is the architect of the scheme to revocate Article 370 from the Indian Constitution and to introduce the intrinsically discriminatory CAA and NRC. Under their leadership the Hindutva ideology has become the keystone of India's policy.

Moderates vs Extremists: Views within India

India is no longer the same India as was aspired for by its founding fathers. A critical analysis leads one to the observation that there is a gradual Indianisation or Hindutvisation of India, marked by ultra-nationalism. In the 21st century a wave of ultra-nationalism swept through various countries including those in Europe, the US and India.[17] Under Modi's extremist driven mindset, India's saffronization

Syllabi are being altered countrywide to recreate history and Indian citizens are being discriminated and questioned about their allegiance to the "Motherland" on the basis of their religion

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There is also a moderate class of intellectuals and civil society, who sincerely wish to preserve the secular credentials of India. They are deeply concerned that Hindu extremists would push the country toward an intolerant and extremist society

appears rapid and systematic. A quick glean into the past seven decades, predominantly ruled by secular Congress party governments shows a gradual and systemic move towards a predominantly Hindu state despite the professed adherence to tolerance, sectarian harmony and secularism."

However, a large segment of Indian civil society did embrace and strongly believes in the ideals of inclusivity espoused by its founding fathers. They genuinely condemned and shunned the policies of the saffron brigade, whose follower Nathuram Godse had killed Mohandas Gandhi. But in today's India under a staunch follower of the RSS ideology, Godse is being worshipped, admired and revered. Mammoth statues and huge temples are being built to worship and idolize Hindu nationalists such as Godse. Syllabi are being altered countrywide to recreate history and Indian citizens are being discriminated and questioned about their allegiance to the "Motherland" on the basis of their religion. The BJP's exclusionist policies are creating social and political schisms within India. A vast majority in rural India identifies itself with the concept of a Hindu India only for Hindus.

There is also a moderate class of intellectuals and civil society, who sincerely wish to preserve the secular credentials of India. They are deeply concerned that Hindu extremists would push the country toward an intolerant and extremist society. Many local human rights organizations and NGOs, several professional and political bodies, and members of the civil society do not agree with the BJP government's policies like the CAA and NRC. The Congress Party has called for repealing the CAA and "immediate stoppage of the NRC/NPR" on grounds that the "package" is unconstitutional and targets the poor and downtrodden. A meeting of various political parties convened by the Congress Party in a bid to showcase their unity on their opposition to the CAA, NRC and NPR, was attended by 20 parties that also adopted a joint resolution castigating BJP for embarked on a "dangerous course of sharpening communal polarization".[19] Widespread protests, agitations and demonstrations were held in all big cities of India, especially in the north-eastern part of India. Curfew was imposed in some parts of India to curtail the protests. The outbreak of Coronavirus pandemic compelled the demonstrators to call off protests, but in some cases, e.g. the Shaheen Bagh protests in Delhi, the police had to force the protestors to disperse.

Some outspoken voices from India like Arundhati Roy, Amitav Ghosh, Romila Thapar, Harsh Mander, Prof Anand Teltumbde raised their concerns and continue to do so.[20] Arundhati Roy was quick to respond to India's revocation of article 370 and 35A and said, "India has turned all of Kashmir into a giant prison camp".[21] Ms. Roy is considered among India's prominent liberal voices. On CAA and NRC, she stated that, "It was not only against Muslims but also against Dalits and poor people in the country".[22] A. G. Noorani, an eminent Indian scholar and expert on constitutional issues, differentiates Hinduism from Hindutva as he observes, "Hinduism is a noble and ancient faith. Hindutva is a modern and fascist concept". In his views, "the future of India is bleak".[23] Though Civil Society of India is vibrant and speaks up, it is still hard to predict the future of India's secularism and democracy.

Spillover Effects of Hindutva: India-Pakistan

Although India's relations with Pakistan have never been truly friendly, and mired more in acrimony and distrust, there have been brief periods in history during which the two enjoyed congenial terms. However, even at the worst of relations or during the phase of active conflict, the alienation, distrust and distance has not been so sharp and acute as it is today. The RSS activities in the neighbouring countries suggest Hindutva is an ideology with objectives that transcends the boundaries of contemporary India, making it a transnational threat. Implications

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Pakistan has recently taken steps that encourage religious freedom. The opening of Kartarpur Corridor and restoration of religious sites of Hindus and Buddhists have helped to strengthen an atmosphere of inter-faith harmony in the country

specifically for Pakistan are far reaching since both Pakistan and India are immediate neighbours, share a history of animosity and mistrust and specifically because Pakistan is ideologically and demographically a Muslim state.

The rivalry between Pakistan and India hit a new low in 2019 when the issue of the Kashmir dispute reached a new vulnerable point that had the potential to bring India and Pakistan on the brink of an all-out war. The ultra-Hinduism and mounting Hindutva following, the officially sponsored persecution against Muslims in India and the standoff between Pakistan and India on Kashmir, among other factors, serve as enabling as well as multiplying factors for the current disconnect between Pakistan and India. This has further exacerbated the already searing mistrust between the two countries.[24]

Pakistan on the other hand, has recently taken steps that encourage religious freedom. The opening of Kartarpur Corridor and restoration of religious sites of Hindus and Buddhists have helped to strengthen an atmosphere of inter-faith harmony in the country. Whereas the exact opposite of this been observed in India. The so-called largest secular democracy of the world has fallen victim to a wave of Hindutva intolerance in a manner that it is hard to find even the

With the growth of Hindu ultra-nationalism, the population of the whole region is very probable to be affected negatively

remnants of what was once Gandhi's and Nehru's India.

The BJP government in India has adopted a hardline approach and a muscular style of diplomacy in dealing with Pakistan as exhibited by its decision to re-annex IIOJK by revoking Article 370 and 35(A) of the Indian Constitution in violation of the UN Security Council Resolutions. The possibility, therefore, does exist that the tensions and strains in Pakistan-India relations may lead to occasional low intensity armed conflicts. However, as long as both Pakistan and India maintain a credible nuclear deterrent, it is doubtful that the tensions between the two countries would escalate to an all-out war between them.[25]

Growing Radicalism in India: A Transnational Threat

Expansion of the Hindutva mindset within India, is also posing grave challenges for its regional neighbours. The RSS has been expanding its influence in the neighbouring countries that have Hindu or Buddhist majority or large minorities. This is likely to be a serious issue for minorities in those countries with serious implications for the security and stability of the whole region.[26] Similarly, Hindutva mindset is encouraging and propagating extremism in the South Asian region. The region already suffers from the problem of terrorism and extremism. With the growth of Hindu ultra-nationalism, the population of the whole region is very probable to be affected negatively. Some examples of inimical impact of Hindutva are discussed below:-

- **Threat of Growing Extremism and the Effect on Indian Diaspora.** The RSS is seeking to impose a Hindu supremacist ideology in a country (India) that is diverse in its ethnic, religious, cultural and sectarian landscape. Prime Minister Modi's high-handed policies have created tensions and divisions on sectarian and cultural fault lines in India. The looming threat of Hindutva will not remain limited within the confines of the Indian state. The Indian diaspora all over the world may get sucked into such narrow interpretation of nationhood, thus creating tensions within the Indian community abroad, which would have a spillover effect on the Pakistani community residing in those countries.[27] The world must be

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This declaration of Indian residents as non-citizens and stateless is expected to generate an illegal immigration and refugee influx in neighboring Bangladesh

cautioned of the threat being posed in South Asia by proponents of Hindutva who draw inspiration from Hitler and Mussolini.

- **Assam Crisis: A Question for Bangladesh.** Bangladesh attributing to the nature of its independence struggle has experienced Indian influence. The countries already have border disputes. Currently, rising Hindutva sentiments in India are sending tremors in Bangladesh as well. Several incidents of shoot and kill by Indian border forces against Bangladesh's Border Security Forces (BSF) were reported in 2019.[28] As the state of Bangladesh tries to cater to the Burmese refugee crisis, India from the other front is set to launch another refugees crisis along with border violations. India's National Register of Citizens (NRC) developed across ethno-nationalist lines distinguishes thousands of Indian citizens of Assam as non-citizens. This declaration of Indian residents as non-citizens and stateless is expected to generate an illegal immigration and refugees influx in neighboring Bangladesh, which already hosts Muslim refugees who have fled religious persecution in Myanmar.[29] Moreover, BJP leader Ram Madhav had already questioned a separate existence of Bangladesh and Pakistan in RSS version of the Indian map of Akhand Bharat in 2015.[30] Also, the RSS controlled publication Suruchi Prakash published a map called "Punyaboomi Bharat". The map not only includes Pakistan and Bangladesh but also Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Myanmar in the Bharat 'Rashtra'. Golwalkar espoused that "Akhand Bharat" will be based on "Hindu Culture" and will spread RSS ideology.[31] This whole scenario poses a serious challenge for Bangladesh and relationship between India and Bangladesh is coming under stress. Bangladesh will most likely resist a wave of migrants from India (NRC). Thus, a serious refugee crisis that appears to be building up that would sour relations between India and Bangladesh.

- **RSS in Nepal.** India has, as a policy, played the role of a regional bully to keep its smaller neighbours dependent on its largesse. India keeps creating situations where it offers assistance to resolve that situation so that weaker neighbours remain beholden to India. The state of Nepal, being one, was extremely disturbed at India's expansionist designs since it declared itself a republic after abolishing the Monarchy in 2006. While Hindu nationalists have reportedly been conducting several terror-led activities in Nepal, an issue surfaced on 2 November 2019 when an Indian official map was found showing the Nepalese sovereign territory of Kalapani as part of India. The Indian move blatantly violates the 1816 Sugali Treaty signed between the East India Company and Nepal. India's hegemonic designs in Nepal have fostered strong anti-India sentiments among the Nepalese public, coupled with Nepal's increasing inclination towards China.[32]
- **Sri-Lanka.** According to Indian Defense Analyst, Lt Col (R) Susantha Seneviratne, at least 17 branches of RSS are operational in Sri-Lanka. The purpose is to spread the ideology of Hindutva. He noted that gathering information might be one reason why the Indians stationed RSS in Sri Lanka and not to carry an attack or to create chaos.[33]

India's hegemonic designs in Nepal have fostered strong anti-India sentiments among the Nepalese public, coupled with Nepal's increasing inclination towards China

Conclusion

- Of particular interest in this environment is the question as to what impact will the BJP policies have on the South Asian region, if the current trends of officially inspired hate speech, sectarian intolerance and persecution of minorities persist in India?

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India has scornfully spurned every effort and several offers by Pakistan for a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir dispute. Hence Kashmir remains a festering flash point between Pakistan and India

- India is home to 72 different types of separatist movements since its independence. While these movements kept simmering for many years, they have started indicating overtones of intense impressions. The intolerance depicted toward the minorities has now started to induce reactions. This is primarily evident in Kashmir, the abrogation of articles 370 and 35A, deployment of about 900,000 troops, the brutal communication clampdown, the imposition of Article 144, abduction of Kashmiri political leadership, complete media blackout and every other possible violation of human rights have kept the Kashmiris on the edge.
- India has scornfully spurned every effort and several offers by Pakistan for a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir dispute. Hence, Kashmir remains a festering flash point between Pakistan and India. The perception that it is only a matter of time or just a miscalculation by either side may degenerate into active confrontation is not farfetched. India's hatred for Muslims, depicted at even the highest official levels, shows how deep its hatred is towards Muslims and the Kashmiri Muslims are no exception. Such bellicosity has a direct bearing on Pakistan-India relations.

NEWS ● LIVE TV INDIA TODAY APP MAGAZINE

Rajasthan rewrites history: Maharana Pratap, not Akbar, won Battle of Haldighati

Rajasthan education board has approved changing its Class X history books to teach students that the Rana of Mewar, Maharana Pratap was the victor against Mughal emperor Akbar during the 16th-century Battle of Haldighati.

Growing saffronisation of India

The ethnic and religious based violence in India or essentially the Hindutva ideology has the potential to plunge the whole region into a security quagmire

- The implementation of NRC in Assam which disenfranchises almost 2 million people, mostly Muslims, is an act of unprecedented injustice against minorities. Nagaland has unfurled its own flag and anthem, and Manipur has formed a government in exile. Most importantly, the Khalistan Movement for a separate homeland for the Sikhs, show how the BJP's high-handed policies are encouraging centrifugal movements within India. The BJP has landed India on the path to an utterly unpredictable future. If any of these separatist movements gets intensified in the future, it will have a domino effect first in India and then in the region, primarily in Pakistan. Hence, the ethnic and religious based violence in India or essentially the Hindutva ideology has the potential to plunge the whole region into a security quagmire.
- It is ironical that extension of global identity matters more than the principles of liberal order, peace and prosperity, and the rule of law. The emergence of operational convergence between the far-right of Europe and the far right of the Sub-continent glorifies fascism. In the last decade, non-Islamic extremism is on the rise globally but the scholarship on extremism in the west is still focused on Islamic extremism with a magnifying glass ignoring any other form of non-Islamic extremism. Thus getting a cue from President Trump's bias against Islam, Prime Minister Modi is on a rampage against his own Muslim citizens.
- In the international arena, more importance is given to the domestic Indian political discourse than to what is being said in Pakistan about developments in India. An internationally relevant state enjoys the power to project anything to its advantage within its region or the international system. This has particularly been the equation between India and Pakistan in the

It is unfortunate that in India measures are being taken to confiscate the Muslim contribution to Indian history and culture and demonize the 700 years of Muslim rule in India

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The situation is not likely to change, rather it will deteriorate further. Therefore, there are chances of increased volatility inside India and within the region

last two and half decade. Thus to Pakistan's chagrin, major weapon producing powers are wooing New Delhi to sell their defense equipment. This is and will contribute to the region's security imbalance and instability.

- The Hindutva mindset/ideology has penetrated deep in the Indian strategic culture. There is uninterrupted access of Indian strategic community to shape the policies according to Hindutva world view. The Indian society has veered towards religious extremism, intolerance and bigotry. Prime Minister Modi's high-handed policies have created tensions and divisions on sectarian and cultural fault lines in India, often prone towards violence. It is unfortunate that in India measures are being taken to confiscate the Muslim contribution to Indian history and culture and demonize the 700 years of Muslim rule in India. Indian history is being distorted to present Muslims as invaders and looters. Pakistan is seen as a residue of those Muslim invaders.
- With an increase in hate crimes against Muslims in India in recent years, it is feared that the world's largest democracy is becoming dangerously intolerant and belligerent under the Hindu nationalist BJP regime. Despite resistance from the Indian civil society and the Congress Party representatives, Modi is emboldened by belligerence, defiance and mockery of international norms and by other major powers of the world, e.g. US and some European countries. He is determined to change the nature of contemporary India under the RSS influence.
- Swamy's statement shows how bigoted Indian mind is to believe Muslims are a different category and are not equal to Hindus. He is resonating with the BJP-RSS government's basic philosophy. It would not be wrong to say that the Indian State has landed itself into a serious conflict with the principle of equality protected in article 14 of the Indian Constitution and Article 1 (2) of the UN Charter.[**] This represents a long-term trend with dangerous implications for religious minorities in India as well as peace and stability in South Asia. The situation is not likely to change, rather it will deteriorate further. Therefore, there are chances of increased volatility inside India and within the region.

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NATIONAL SECURITY AND WORLD ORDER IN THE POST-COVID-19 WORLD

Dr Hassan Askari Rizvi

ABSTRACT

The Coronavirus has challenged the humanity in such a devastating manner that most countries have suffered from it in varying degrees in terms of human deaths and adverse impact on the economy and societal stability. These developments have necessitated the fourth major review of the concept of national security since the Second World War (1939-45).

The initial notion of national security focused on territorial or military security against external threats and internal challenges to peace, stability, and territorial integrity of a state.

The traditional concept of national security began to be reviewed in the early 1970s to address the non-military issues to reinforce national security. This second articulation of national security expanded its scope and shaped up as a well-recognized discourse on national security in the post-Soviet World. There was an increased emphasis on what was described as Comprehensive Security which added new domains to the notion of national security and included, among others, societal and human security, economic security, food security, security against terrorism and how to address dissident or separatist movements as well as the alienation of people from the political system.

Third major shift by the beginning of the 21st Century in the concept of national security accommodated inventions in Communication and Information Technologies. The opening up of Cyber space and digital technology has further expanded the scope of national security by opening up new opportunities as well as challenges and threats.

Now, we are experiencing a new and fourth shift in the ways and means of addressing the issues of National Security and survival. This paper examines the changing notion of national security with a focus on the challenges posed by Coronavirus (COVID-19) and how it has underlined the need of paying greater attention to human and societal welfare, especially the provision of heath care facilities. It has also emphasized the need of greater international cooperation for coping with the negative ramifications of Coronavirus on the economy and societal stability and how it has increased unemployment, poverty, and underdevelopment in the developing countries. The paper also examines how Coronavirus has given new tools to the major powers to pursue their mutual competition.

Key Words: Coronavirus, COVID-19, Lockdown, Traditional and Comprehensive Security, Pakistan, China, USA, Russia, Iran

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The only test of a regime claiming sovereignty over a particular territory would be that it was sovereign in practice: that it could maintain an internal order and survive war

The concept of National Security has changed over time. It has become more inclusive of issues and problems and more encompassing, because security challenges have become multifaceted and complex. Traditionally, national security is described as the ability of a state to defend its territory, people, and core political and societal values against external military threats. The state endeavors to protect its sovereignty, territorial integrity and societal coherence against external and internal threats.

Traditional Notion of National Security

The underlying assumption of the traditional concept of security is that the major threats to the security and survival of the state arise from outside the territorial boundaries of the state. These threats are mainly, if not exclusively, military in nature and thus require a military response. Most threats to internal security like the dissident and separatist challenges and internal revolts also require a military solution in the ultimate analysis.

The state is viewed as sovereign when it can demonstrate the capacity to protect it and exercise it by demonstrating the freedom to make important external and internal policy decisions. "The only test of a regime claiming sovereignty over a particular territory would be that it was sovereign in practice: that it could maintain an internal order and survive war."[1]

The comprehensive view of national security also focuses on issues beyond the strictly military domains. It is now fully recognized that many non-military elements are needed to create an effective and result-oriented military power

As the state is haunted by war or a near war situation and internal upsurge challenging the primacy of the state, it endeavors focus on military technology and weaponry, and quality of human-power as well as training and professionalism in the military. Today, national security is articulated in an all-encompassing and comprehensive manner. The scope of national security has expanded in two respects. First, with modernization of military technology and the increased lethalness of weaponry, war and military conflicts have become what is described as full military spectrum. Conventional military security continues to remain important for national security. "At the end of the day, security demands military power sufficient to dissuade or defeat an attack".[2] The multi-nation military operations led by the United States in Kuwait-Iraq (1991), Afghanistan (2001 onwards), Iraq (2003 onwards) and the use of conventional military power mainly by European states and local armed groups to dislodge Colonel Qaddafi's regime in Libya (2011) continue to underline the need of military power and acquisition of modern military technologies.

Second, the comprehensive view of national security also focuses on issues beyond the strictly military domains. It is now fully recognized that many non-military elements are needed to create an effective and result-oriented military power. Therefore, the reference to non-military sources of military power is recognized even by those who view external military threats and internal subversion as the major threat to national independence, sovereignty, and autonomous functioning in the international system.

Though war is seen as a poor policy option by many analysts. However, they do not rule out the possibilities of wars "other than between the two super-powers and their allies."[3] These definitions tend to downplay non-military and societal components of national security, including social and economic factors. These factors have become more important in the states that manifest an "uncomfortable marriage of state and nation."[4]

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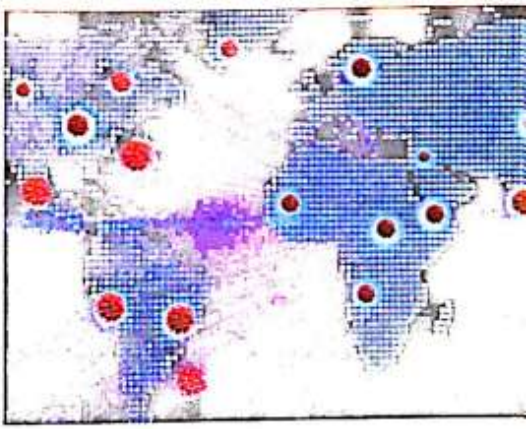
Expansion of the Scope of National Security

The gradual expansion of the scope of national security both in military and non-military terms began in the 1970s when it was viewed more as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, covering many new security challenges encountered by the developing countries; most of these were non-military, internal and societal and related to issues of human development and welfare. These were not totally new ideas because, in the days of conventional security paradigm, many security experts also talked of issues of internal peace and stability, welfare of people and national resilience that included both the state system and the dynamics of societal affairs.

The notion of comprehensive security with an emphasis on societal or human security did not reject the relevance of military or territorial security. The advocates of societal and human security were of the view that the concept of territorial security was too narrow to cover the challenges and threats the states face. In addition to external security challenges the state faces a host of internal threats to peace, stability, and internal coherence. This could be described as updating and expanding the scope of traditional concept of security with equal, if not greater, emphasis, on non-military and societal aspects of security. These trends became more pronounced in the post-Cold War era, especially after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991.

Several factors contributed to the increased emphasis on Comprehensive Security and Societal and Human Security that are beyond the scope of this article. However, these factors are being mentioned here very briefly: Liberal-Left intellectual tradition that emphasized human welfare, peace, and advocated an anti-arms race and anti-nuclear weapons discourse. The policies of Japan and some ASEAN countries in the 1970s focused on conflict resolution and non-military threats to societies, and socio-economic reconstruction; the role of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) on issues like New International Economic Order, North-South and South-South dialogues and the notion of the Third World and its problems; the United Nations



Development Program and its emphasis on Human Development since 1990, and the articulation of Human Development Index (1994); UN General Assembly Special Sessions on Disarmament and Development (1976, 1982); Willy Brandt Report on "North-South: A Program on International Development Issues" (1980); Olaf Palme Commission Report on "Common Security" (1982); the United Nations Millennium Goals (2000-2015); The UN Sustainable Development Goals (2015-2030); and the Post-Cold War emphasis on human rights, democracy and human security and welfare against the backdrop of the collapse of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the breakup of Yugoslavia and humanitarian crises in African states, i.e. Somalis, Rwanda and Southern Sudan in the 1990s. National Security began to be described as not merely in military-strategic terms but also in terms of political and diplomatic, socio-economic, poverty and underdevelopment, internal strife and dissidence movements, food, energy, and ecology.

The availability of cyber space and digital technology has made it possible to penetrate the hard shell of the state from outside through modern communication and information technology without physically crossing the territorial boundaries of the state. Propaganda in favor or against, image projection at the global level and the use of soft power of culture, art, literature, architecture, historical monuments and record and human creativity are new instruments of diplomacy. The issues of transnational terrorism, organized crime, internal wars and external intervention, use of non-state entities as proxies, and refugees and human migrations from strife-ridden territories.

Propaganda in favor or against, image projection at the global level and the use of soft power of culture, art, literature, architecture, historical monuments and record and human creativity are new instruments of diplomacy

Cyber space is a platform that can be used to pursue national interest, but it could also be used by

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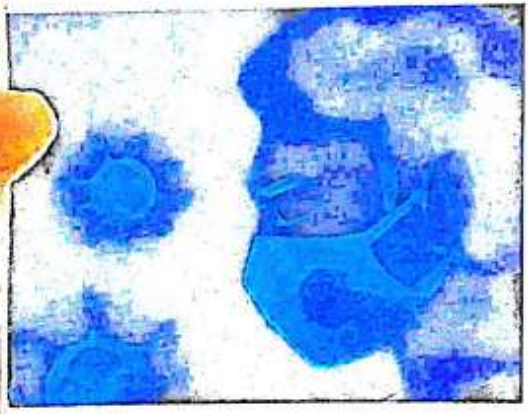
extremists, terrorists groups, dissidents and separatists elements to advance their ideological and political agendas and recruit volunteers for their causes. Cyber space is also used for offensive activities against a target state or organization. In addition to gathering information and intelligence, Cyber space is used for propaganda and attacks on military and communication networks. Cyber Crimes include disruption of computer system, breaking of computer codes, hacking of websites, stealing data, blackmailing of individuals and groups and transmission of hate-material with the objective of causing social upheaval. However, the communication and information technologies can be used for positive purposes and for addressing the societal problems and for active interaction between the people and the government.

Coronavirus and State Security

The international community received the news of spread of the Coronavirus in the Wuhan region of China by early December 2019. It produced COVID-19, causing deaths of some people in Wuhan. Nobody thought that it would soon become a global pandemic that would not only affect domestic social and economic conditions in many states but also have implications for inter-state relations and global politics.

COVID-19 has hit most states and societies in the first quarter of 2020 in such a devastating and widespread manner that it created new challenges for each state's domestic context and foreign policy. It also had implications for the interaction among the major world powers. The experience of dealing with COVID-19 is expected to influence the internal socio-economic policies of the states and their interaction with other states in the future.



By mid-May, Pakistan moved to a strategy of 'smart lockdown', isolating the areas that produced Coronavirus-affected people rather than closing-down all activities all over the country

We can talk about the losses to the economies of different countries by the spread of the Coronavirus. However, it is not yet possible to explain why one country was hit harder than its neighbor or what factors kept the impact of the pandemic to the minimum in some countries. Most questions about the source of its origin and how it travelled from one country to another remain unanswered, although some analysts have given speculative answers to these questions.

Pakistan began to work on the issues relating to Coronavirus in the second week of February 2020. On receiving news about Coronavirus related deaths in Iran, the Balochistan government imposed emergency in all Balochistan districts bordering Iran and, on February 23, Pakistan closed all the five entry points-Taftan, Gwadar, Turbat, Panjgur and Washuk-on the Pakistan-Iran border. The first two cases of Coronavirus were reported from Karachi on February 26, who had returned from Iran a couple of days earlier. The government of Pakistan decided to screen all Pakistanis returning from Iran via Taftan entry point, which was kept partly open to accommodate Pakistanis returning from Iran. They were put in quarantine in Taftan. However, given the inadequacies in health and living facilities in the border town, the quarantine arrangements were deficient in most respects. These people were later shifted to places closer to their home districts.

In March, the state hospitals in various cities of Pakistan faced a shortage of testing kits, medical gowns, masks, ventilators, and isolation arrangements. These deficiencies were taken care of by April as Pakistan received the above-mentioned material from China and some other friendly countries. China also sent medical teams to Pakistan to help in its fight against Coronavirus. Pakistan also paid attention to producing some of these items locally. Some of these locally produced items like masks began to be exported to other countries in August; hospital facilities especially isolation arrangements were increased to cope with the demand. Initially, Pakistan enforced lockdown of some areas which was turned into a nationwide lockdown on March 25, by imposing a strict ban on all commercial and business activities and closing down of educational institutions, hotels and

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The laws of social distancing and lockdown were applied on all in all countries affected by COVID-19. However, these laws had more negative impact on the poor sections of population than on the wealthy and well-to-do classes

restaurants and all kinds of social and cultural activities. Industrial activity was also restrained or made subject to officially prescribed precautionary measures. However, by mid-May, Pakistan moved to a strategy of 'smart lockdown', isolating the areas that produced Coronavirus-affected people rather than closing-down all activities all over the country. Hotels and restaurants, cultural and entertainment activities remained banned. All people under smart lockdown or not were directed to cut back on social activities, stay home, and strictly observe the precautionary measures of wearing masks, social distancing in public places and the use of hand sanitizer. The medical community, especially the organizations of doctors, demanded a full and total lockdown of the country, in total disregard of socio-economic consequences of such a strict lockdown. The federal government and all those dealing with humanitarian issues did not favor the doctors' viewpoint. The Sindh and Balochistan provincial governments pursued a strict lockdown for a longer period. However, these governments also realized by the beginning of June that a carefully managed and focused lockdown was a pragmatic and manageable option.

The issues relating to human welfare and secure and stable life of citizens are no less important than external military challenges

The federal government created a specialized administrative system for management of the Coronavirus related issues and provision of necessary support to hospitals and other medical facilities created for this purpose. It worked in collaboration with provincial governments and the provincial level health facilities. It also took care of obtaining necessary equipment and material from abroad for fighting the COVID-19. The medical equipment, special dress for doctors and support staff and other goods obtained from abroad were supplied to hospitals and medical centers by Army transport.

The markets and shopping areas were opened-up gradually after mid-May under strict conditions of wearing of masks and maintaining social distance. The market and business activities increased near the Eid-ul-Fitar (May 24) as the people came out in large number for Eid shopping; large number of shoppers and shopkeepers did not observe the required precautionary measures. The government directions were often violated. Consequently, there was a surge of COVID-19 patients after the Eid. However, this surge proved short-lived. No such surge recurred when people came out for shopping for Eid-ul-Qurban (August 1). Another period of concern was the first ten days of the Islamic month of Muharram (August 21-30). Both the events did not cause a sudden rise in Coronavirus patents. The trend of decline of COVID-19 witnessed in August was sustained subsequently. This set the stage for gradual opening of educational institutions in September and other economic activities. However, the government has not reduced its emphasis on adherence to precautionary measures and avoidance of big gatherings.

What are the implications of these developments on national security, internal affairs of a state and global politics?

Security Implications of COVID-19

Covid-19 can be viewed as a national security issue in the context of expanded or comprehensive security. It has negative implications for domestic socio-economic order in the states affected by this virus. It has also become an issue of concern at the global level and has figured in the relations among the major powers. An important lesson of the COVID-19 related developments is that an epidemic, if not managed effectively, can cause health crisis which threatens internal order and stability in a state. If more and more people get sick and deaths increase rapidly, it is bound to cause anxiety and concern in the society.

Sudden lockdown in India with total disregard to migrant workers

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The experience of Pakistan and several developing countries shows that even if a law is applied equally to all, it impacts differently on different strata of society

Had the federal and provincial governments and societal groups and individuals not provided humanitarian assistance during the lockdown period, the society would have faced serious internal crisis, street rioting and violence that would have increased internal security problems

The societal groups start blaming the government for not paying adequate attention to health care of the ordinary people. This causes alienation in the society which can manifest in agitation and protest that could prove destabilizing.

The expanded notion of national security or comprehensive security that underlines the need of paying attention to non-military sources of conflict, war and insecurity becomes relevant here. The issues relating to human welfare and secure and stable life of citizens are no less important than external military challenges.

The COVID-19 Pandemic has exposed inequities in the global system. Most developing countries do not have the state-run healthcare system to cope with the Coronavirus patients. The scarcity of resources, skewed planning and misplaced priorities have caused serious deficiencies in the systems of healthcare, education and civic facilities. The human and economic losses caused by the pandemic underlined the need of international cooperation for making these services available to the ordinary people.

The experience of Pakistan and several developing countries shows that even if a law is applied equally to all, it impacts differently on different strata of society. The laws of social distancing and lockdown were applied all in all countries affected by COVID-19. However, these laws had more negative impact on the poor sections of population than on the wealthy and well-to-do classes. The affluent classes had enough economic resources at their disposal to maintain them even when their jobs and business activities were suspended due to the outbreak of the Coronavirus. The poorest sections of population lost their jobs or sources of earning because of closure of business and commercial activity. The daily wage earners were most adversely affected because they used to get paid for the work at the end of every working day. Daily wage earners and temporary labor could not get work and thus did not have money to sustain their families. They faced an extremely unfavorable and uncertain situation which caused resentment in the lower strata of the society.

PM visits Ehsaas Emergency Cash Disbursement Centre

The imperatives of internal peace and stability demand that the government takes care of the disadvantaged section of population. Pakistan's federal government offered some relaxation in lockdown rules within three weeks of the initial lockdown to allow some business activity so that some people start earning their living. The federal government also distributed financial relief to the poor section of population through its social welfare programme "Ahsas", every poor family was given Rs. 12000 as financial support under the "Ahsas" Programme. By the third week of July, religious groups and provincial governments also provided some financial support to the jobless people. This was a major relief to the poor people or those who lost their jobs because of the lockdown. Many business groups in travel business, hotels and restaurants, sports and entertainment laid off their employees because they could not afford to pay salaries beyond one or two months when their business was suspended. The 'Ahsas" programme provided financial relief to 10.3 million families.[5] Humanitarian support in the form of free distribution of cooked meals, free medicine and food rations were distributed by nongovernment voluntary organizations, individual philanthropists, and some religious groups and parties.

The State Bank of Pakistan reduced its interest rate from 12.5 percent in February to seven percent in a graduated manner in March-July. It also relaxed foreign exchange rules and kept interest as low as five to six percent for medical and especially Coronavirus related goods. It also allowed the banks to give special low interest loans to be returned over a relatively long period of time for payment of salaries of the employees.

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The Coronavirus has shaken the primacy of powerful military and economic powers in global politics. It has shown that states like China, the US, and many European states are vulnerable despite their political clout and military and economic power. These major states experienced helplessness when the Virus hit them hard

Had the federal and provincial governments and societal groups and individuals not provided humanitarian assistance during the lockdown period, the society would have faced serious internal crisis, street rioting and violence that would have increased internal security problems.

Global Politics and COVID-19

The international community has experienced epidemics and natural disasters in the past. However, the impact of COVID-19 has surpassed the impacts of earlier natural calamities. The post-COVID-19 global system is expected to raise new issues and rearticulate old issues in the new context. The notions of globalization, free economy and trade have suffered a major setback after the outbreak of the ongoing pandemic.

The Coronavirus has shaken the primacy of powerful military and economic powers in global politics. It has shown that states like China, the US, and many European states are vulnerable despite their political clout and military and economic power. These major states experienced helplessness when the virus hit them hard. This shows that global politics can no longer ignore natural calamities of global dimension. Natural disasters can cause havoc to different communities within a state as well as impact the relations among the state.

The negative impact of the virus is not only on those who are directly affected by it but others who continue to stay healthy. Business and commercial activities have been either adversely affected or these got completely stopped. It has not only undermined state economies, but individual economies have also suffered. Unemployment and poverty have increased in the weaker sections of population in the developed western countries in the first four months of the outbreak of the pandemic.

Antonio Guterres, Secretary-General of the United Nations, is right to remark that the COVID-19 "laid bare severe and systemic inequalities both within and between countries and communities...."

When we examine the socio-economic impact of the Coronavirus in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the situation is alarming. The economies of most of these states have shrunk and some of these countries experienced minus or near minus growth. India's economy suffered from 23.9 percent decline in April-June 2020.[6] The long closures of business, commercial and industrial activity, increased unemployment and poverty in most of these countries. The countries like Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Thailand, Philippines, and others that supplied labour to the states of the Gulf region and

other Arab countries suffered from another type of financial losses. As the new construction projects were suspended and business and commercial activities were stopped in these countries, the earnings of foreign labor were lost or reduced to the minimum; they were unable to send money back home to their families which not only caused financial crisis for these families but also the foreign exchange earnings of these states were reduced because they were receiving less amount as remittances from their citizens living and working abroad.[7] The suspension of inter-state travel and stoppage of trade had a negative fall out on the economies of all countries, especially the states that were known as the major tourism places.

A World Health Organization (WHO) report released in the last week of August reported that the people in almost 90 percent countries could not get "essential health services" because of the outbreak of

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the Coronavirus. As the hospitals were so busy dealing with COVID-19 patients they could not offer routine health care services and critical medical support like screening of cancer and treatment of HIV patients. Some medical procedures for the patients were postponed, causing concern among the patients. In Pakistan, the state hospitals closed "outdoor patient care" service for few weeks. This service was restarted as the people protested. The lockdown also forced the doctors engaged in private medical practice to close-down their clinics that used to provide basic health care services to people.

These problems emphasized the need of international cooperation with and support to the countries facing socio-economic crises due to the pandemic. In addition to medical support, these countries require financial support for coping with the difficulties in their economies and to cope with the growing number of unemployed people. Antonio Guterres, Secretary-General of the United Nations, is right to remark that the COVID-19 "laid bare severe and systemic inequalities both within and between countries and communities. More broadly, it has underscored the world's fragilities, not just in the face of another health emergency, but in our faltering response to climate crisis, lawlessness in cyberspace, and the risk of nuclear proliferation. People everywhere are losing trust in political establishments and institutions".[8] In another statement, Antonio Guterres, said that COVID-19 posed "the highest risk to the health of the most vulnerable, and its social and economic impact is concentrated on those who are least able to cope. Unless we act now, 100 million more people could be pushed into extreme poverty and we could see famines of historical proportions".[9]

Territorial boundaries do not protect a state from COVID-19. Helping the developing countries to fight COVID-19 serves the economic interests of the developed economies because the developing countries are "buyers of exports [of the developed economies], sources of raw material and destinations for investment" from the developed world. "Getting the virus under control in these countries is key to developed economies, moving forward on the difficult path to recovery".[10]

The major international financial institutions have come forward to provide financial assistance, new

The Coronavirus has caused a serious jolt to the much-boasted feature of current international relations, that is, globalization

loans and rescheduling of debt. Pakistan and several other countries got new loans to cope with the economic pressures caused by COVID-19. The World bank, Asian Development Bank and China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) has provided new loans to Pakistan. The G-20 Countries have provided debt relief to Pakistan and some other countries. China and Saudi Arabia have offered debt relief to Pakistan. The United Kingdom has provided economic support to Pakistan to fight COVID-19. It also supplied some medical equipment. The US gave 300 ventilators to Pakistan in July.

The economies of large number of countries continue to suffer from the negative impact of COVID-19. This threat is expected to haunt these countries up to the end of the first quarter of 2021. Therefore, the UN, the World Bank, and other international financial institutions as well as regional cooperation organizations must work on a comprehensive plan for economic revival of the COVID-19 affected countries. If sufficient attention is not given to economic decline of the Coronavirus-affected countries, their economic and political conditions would deteriorate, accentuating internal strife, violence, and separatism in these countries. These troubles can easily spillover to the neighboring countries, causing instability and disorder in the region and beyond.

The Coronavirus has caused a serious jolt to the much-boasted feature of current international relations, that is, globalization. Modern Communication and Information technologies and increased travel facilities transformed the post-Cold War world into what was described as a global village. The success of a state-economy was measured in terms of its linkages in the context of Western liberal economic thinking that highlighted free trade, investment,

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greater freedom to the private sector and the least involvement of the state in economic affairs. It called for an easy movement of ideas, people, goods, and services across the state boundaries. Such a state of economic affairs created space for non-governmental organizations for socio-economic development within a state and across the territorial boundaries of the states. These trends of neo-economic liberalism and globalization were first challenged by global terrorism that forced many countries in 2001 onwards to apply strict checks on the movement of people and ideas from certain specified countries.

In 2020, the Coronavirus has hit all the continents of the world in a more overwhelming manner than terrorism. Most countries enforced a strict lockdown, suspended air travel and imposed quarantine rules for people travelling to other countries or returning from abroad. All this exposed the non-enduring nature of globalization and Western liberal economics. These restrictions are expected to be eased in 2021, but the fear of re-emergence of COVID-19 would keep a check on free movement of people, goods and services across the territorial boundaries of states. Similarly, it will be several years before tourism and free trade and movement of people becomes a routine international practice.

The COVID-19 pandemic has added new dimensions to the competition between the United States and China for political influence at the global level. Though the US and China maintain active economic and trade relations, they distrust each other as they compete for expanding their influence in Asia-Pacific and other regions. The US wants to get more trade concession so as to balance China-US trade, tighten technology transfers to China and work with Australia, Japan and South Korea to contain Chinese influence in South China Sea area and Asia Pacific region. The US is also building India to challenge China on the Sino-Indian border.[11] Whereas many analysts describe the 21st Century as the China Century, the US wants to neutralize its drive for leadership in Asia and Africa; The US is not only opposed to its Belt and Road Initiative and China-Pakistan Economic Corridor but also raises the issues of human rights when it comes to China's new security laws for Hong Kong and the rights of Uighur Muslims of Xinjiang region. It is in the context of this rivalry that the US and China closed each other's consulate in Houston and Chengdu in July.[12]

The Coronavirus has hit the developed and the developing countries all over the world. It has exposed inequities in each society as well as in the international system

The COVID-19 pandemic has reminded us that there is a need of adopting a comprehensive and all-embracing approach to national security

The U.S viewed the spread of the Coronavirus as an opportunity to build diplomatic pressure on China for unleashing the Coronavirus from Wuhan on the rest or the world. US President, Donald Trump labelled the virus as the China Virus or the Wuhan virus.[13] He used the phrase of the China Virus in his speech at the Republican Party Convention in August, China rejected this allegation. President Donald Trump wanted the WHO to accept his formulation regarding the origins of the Coronavirus. As the WHO did not agree with Donald Trump's formulation for origins of the Coronavirus, President Trump criticized the WHO Director General and initiated the process of US withdrawal from WHO in July.[14] The issue of origins of the Coronavirus is expected to stay alive in the confrontation between China and the US. However, the US is not expected to get much support on its narrative about the origins of the Coronavirus.

Another dimension of competition among different states pertains to invention of Coronavirus vaccine. Important work on preparation of vaccine is being undertaken in China, Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The US administration claimed that Russian agents had attempted to steal the research on vaccine in the US and the UK.[15] A charge denied by Russia. The Russian government claimed in August that its scientists had invented a medicine for the Coronavirus patients, and that its tests in Russia were successful. However, this vaccine has not so far been acknowledged by WHO and healthcare related global organizations. The country that invents Coronavirus vaccine will get major diplomatic credit. The US and other Western countries would like to keep this credit with them.

Concluding Observations

The COVID-19 pandemic has reminded us that there is a need of adopting a comprehensive and all-embracing approach to national security. It is a conventional security plus approach that not only updates conventional security measures by inducting modern technology but also takes into account non-military threats to national security. The states can collapse or face an acute internal crisis due to natural and human-made calamities. Internal peace, political coherence and stability of a state can be threatened by several internal developments which can easily be

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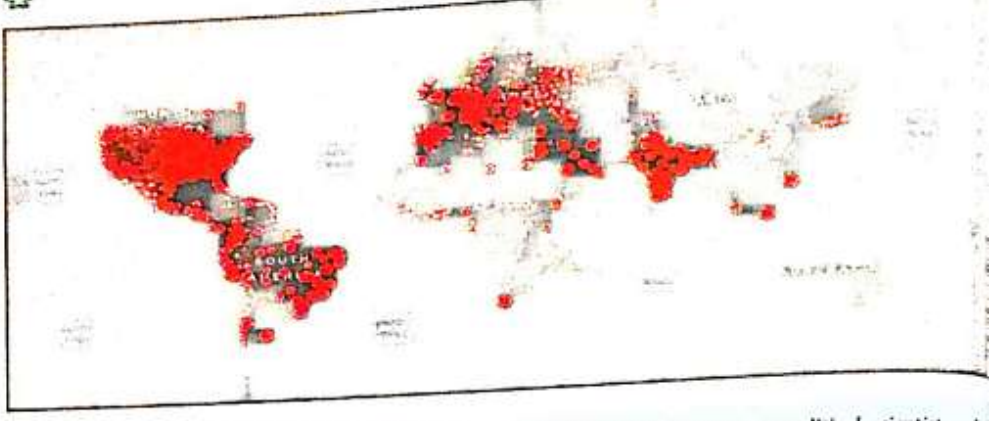

exploited by external adversaries. National security is impacted by internal politico-economic and social conditions, governance and political management. An epidemic, floods, cyclones and famines can undermine a state and society. Similarly, internal strife caused by ethnic, religious, regional, tribal conflict and poor governance along with failed political management can cause internal disharmony and chaos. There is a need to pay serious attention promoting human and societal security.

The Coronavirus has hit the developed and the developing countries all over the world. It has exposed inequities in each society as well as in the international system. If international peace and stability are to be guaranteed in the future, there is a need to work towards mitigating these inequities. This calls for a global level effort to help the COVID-19 affected countries to cope with the issues of healthcare unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment caused by the pandemic. Though the developed and industrialized countries have also been adversely affected by Coronavirus, the developing states of Asia, Africa and Latin America have suffered most because they did not have the capacity to cope with such pandemic. The issues of improving the socio-economic conditions of these countries will figure prominently in world politics in the future. International and regional organizations will be expected to help these states. The neglect of these issues would cause instability and political turmoil in many countries that could spill over to other states. The power politics among the major global players like the United States, China, Russia and the European Union will also be influenced by their perception of how to deal with the aftermath of COVID-19. While helping other countries each of these major states would assign priority to its regional and global agenda, how to counter the diplomatic and military pressures generated by the adversary power and how the post-COVID-19 situation can be manipulated to its advantage.

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PANDEMIC AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Brig Dr
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ABSTRACT

The Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID19) not only challenged the capacities of nations to fight a pandemic, it also raised several security related issues. These included threats to the national economy, the viability of a country's health system and the diversion of resources, both financial and military to fight the crisis. The pandemic tested to the limits, the vision and capacity of the national leadership and the patience and resilience of the people. The pandemic may not have run its course but most of the countries have by now arrived at a consensus policy to handle the pandemic.

Like most countries, after initial hiccups, Pakistan was able to formulate an effective policy to flatten the curve and contain the spread of the virus. However, this is not the end of the story, the pandemic has not run its course, there can be recurrences that need to be prevented and a credible cure has not yet been found.

This paper posits that epidemics or pandemics should not be taken lightly and that there should be contingencies in place to fight spread of contagions. Not only should national health systems be robust enough to fight a health crisis, but pandemic prevention strategies should be made part of the overall security matrix.

Keywords: COVID19, Pandemic, National Security, Health Contingencies.

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The bird or avian flu, dog flu, swine flu and Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome or SARS (2002-2004) were all traced back to animals. Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID19) was allegedly spread through bats sold as a local delicacy in a Chinese wet market

Introduction

Plagues and pestilence have been visiting humankind since times immemorial. Locust, floods and turning the Sabbath breakers into monkeys have been mentioned as divine retribution to chastise the errant. Leprosy until it was cured was also considered divine punishment. In recent times AIDS has been stigmatized as a curse from God for unethical sexual mores. This is of course a generalization because people contract this disease through other means as well such as used needles and transfusion of infected blood.

Plagues spread quickly and are difficult to control. It can result in scores of deaths. Sometimes so many people die of plagues that burial becomes a problem. Justinian plague ravaged Europe during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (527-565 AD). It is said to have originated in Africa and spread through infected rats travelling on merchant ships. The Black Death bubonic plague that ravaged most of Europe and Asia in the fourteenth century was also blamed on infected rats. These rodents had travelled onboard a fleet of twelve ships that had made its way from the Black Sea and docked in the Sicilian port of Messina in 1347. The Black Death plague killed 20 million people in Europe, effectively one third of the continent's population. The third bubonic plague took place towards the end of the nineteenth century.[1]

More recently the bird or avian flu, dog flu, swine flu and Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome or SARS (2002-2004) were all traced back to animals. The Ebola virus disease or EVD (2013-2016) in West Africa was caused by fruit bats. The zika virus that broke out in some Latin American countries in 2016 was spread by mosquitos and symptoms were like dengue fever, yellow fever, Japanese encephalitis and West Nile Viruses. Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID19) was allegedly spread through bats sold as a local delicacy in a Chinese wet market.

Plagues spread like bushfire and are difficult to control. The contagious virus is often zoonotic in nature. It can spread by carriers through coughing and sneezing. The infectious bacteria suspended in the atmosphere can be easily inhaled by those in the vicinity. The Spanish influenza (1918-1920) infected 500 million people, about a third of world's population at that time. There were several recurrences before the disease had run its course.

The only way to control the spread of a contagion is by segregating the non-infected from the infected population

By December 2020, the novel corona virus has infected well over 60 million and has resulted in over a million and a half deaths world wide. In the US alone the infection rate has exceeded 15 million people and there have been over a quarter million deaths. Pakistan has been lucky because the number of people that have recovered is encouraging. The death toll so far remained below 10 thousand. Neighboring India has not been so lucky. The infection rate is around the 10 million mark and resulted in well over hundred thousand deaths.[2] The virus may infect more people in the coming months and years. The Spanish influenza lasted two full years.

The only way to control the spread of a contagion is by segregating the non-infected from the infected population. From medical point of view plagues are infectious disease caused by viruses. Common symptoms are fever, body aches, headaches, diarrhea and rashes. Medicine or vaccine can only be administered before the outbreak of the disease to create antibodies to fight the bacteria/virus. Before that happens, a doctor has limited options apart from prescribing analgesic like paracetamol for body aches

A health care worker greeting his daughter through a glass door as they maintained social distance due to the COVID-19 outbreak New Rochelle, New York

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The worst fallout of a health crisis like COVID19 is fear and panic among the people and a decision-making paralysis among the leaders

and plenty of fluids to flush the system of toxins. The condition of patients suffering from previous morbidities like lung and heart disease can aggravate the health condition of an infected person. As an extreme measure he can be hooked to life support systems like a ventilator. If the symptoms are detected at an early stage, infected people can recover from novel corona virus. There is no guarantee so far that person cannot be re-infected.

The Nature of the Crisis

The worst fallout of a health crisis like COVID19 is fear and panic among the people and a decision-making paralysis among the leaders. When the lethargy, inertia and denial wear off, the first instinct of the governments is to hide or downplay the outbreak and severity of the disease. The propensity to do so was most evident in case of Corona pandemic in highly industrialized and prosperous nations like the US and China.[3] Yet others decided not to take any action at all. It was thought rather naively that immune systems could be developed by encouraging herd mentality. This approach was most pronounced in the UK and it proved flawed, when Prime Minister Boris Johnson contracted the disease and had a close brush with death.[4]

There are several reasons for this ostrich like behavior. The spread of an unknown and incurable

President Trump was not pleased and declared that the international organization was favoring China. Out of spite, he declared that his country would no longer be funding WHO

disease causes anxiety and despondency. Dread and uncertainty are bad for the economy. Production drops, investors are wary of putting their money into businesses and people resort to hoarding of essential food items and fuel causing artificial shortages. Rumor mill will start churning bad news at a phenomenal speed to add to the misery of a government not performing well. Political trolls in the digital world capitalize on the situation by adding a spin by spreading concocted disinformation causing shaky governments to wobble. Fake news of a government's inability to handle a crisis can provide political opposition enough ammunition to tarnish the incumbent president and prime minister's image as an effective leader.

The world was slow to come to terms with the outbreak of the novel corona virus. The first case was reported in the Chinese city of Wuhan in November 2019. The Director General of the World Health Organization (WHO) Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus declared a global health emergency by the end of January 2020.[5] He was at pains to explain that this was not a vote of no confidence in the Chinese health system but an advice to all countries to take suitable actions to control the pandemic. President Trump was not pleased and declared that the international organization was favoring China. Out of spite, he declared that his country would no longer be funding WHO.[6] He went a step further by waging a constant campaign against China, blaming a laboratory in Wuhan for the spread of the virus. He called the corona virus as the Chinese virus. The Chinese countered by alleging that a US military sports team had visited Wuhan before the outbreak and had left their luggage and gone back without winning a single medal.

Like any other international organization, WHO is dependent on voluntary contributions from member states. These contributions are calculated as per a nation's wealth. Of all countries in the world, the US has been the largest contributor to WHO. In a two-year funding cycle of 2018-2019, it had paid 237 million US dollars as membership dues and 656 million US dollars as donations. This made 14.7 percent of all the money paid to WHO. The next major contributor is Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.[7] This gave the US the leverage to express its annoyance by withholding its

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It was expected that the nations of the world would for once give up on violence and come up with joint plans to defeat the pandemic, but this did not happen

contributions. This was one of the reactions that tested international leadership. It was hoped that affairs of the WHO, notwithstanding, countries would collaborate to find a vaccine to collectively save the mankind. Bill Gates announced that he would be supporting 7 factories trying to develop a vaccine.[8] But then it became a matter of prestige to outdo each other. Nations like China and Russia scrambled to declare that they had been able to produce and test a vaccine to prevent corona virus from affecting a human being.

It was expected that the nations of the world would for once give up on violence and come up with joint plans to defeat the pandemic, but this did not happen. The UN Secretary General Antonio Gutteres begged for a temporary truce in the time of the pandemic, but his appeal was ignored.[9]

The Response

After WHO's pronouncement that corona virus was an international health hazard, each country came up with its own strategy to fight the pandemic. Some countries responded with alacrity, while others were more tentative and did not take any practical measures until the situation grew serious and hospitals were overwhelmed with infected patients and rate of deaths became alarming.

The first response by most countries was a lockdown of varying intensities. Sometimes these were nationwide and at other occasions it was restricted to cities, where cases of infection had been reported. Chinese lockdown in Wuhan was the most comprehensive. Strict curfew was imposed, and no one was allowed to move out of the city. The Wuhan lockdown became a template for a number of countries.[10] Government of Pakistan also adopted a fairly comprehensive lockdown policy. It also took the unprecedented step of telling the students studying in

The Captain of a US battleship went public in his SOS for help for his sick crew and was removed from command for public disclosure of a health hazard

The UN Secretary General Appeals for a Global Ceasefire amid the Threat of COVID-19

the Chinese province of Hubei to abide by the Chinese instructions and not return home.[11] This did cause some consternation among the parents.[12] Mercifully, there were no reports of any Pakistani student catching the infection. Sweden was perhaps the only country that opted not to impose lockdown of any kind.[13]

Travel restrictions were imposed, and borders were closed. Those returning from visits and pilgrimages were quarantined. A luxury cruise ship arrived with a cargo load of sick passengers in a Japanese port.[14] The Captain of a US battleship went public in his SOS for help for his sick crew and was removed from command for public disclosure of a health hazard.[15] Business were shut down leaving many people jobless. In India migrant workers trekked back home and many were killed in the arduous journey.[16] Unskilled expatriates in the Gulf region were left jobless and stranded and had no means of returning home. The rescue operations were late and long in coming. At home, the governments tried their best to flatten the curve i.e. to keep the daily count of infections and deaths at a manageable level. Newspapers started reporting the daily toll to keep the public in picture.

The second step was to protect the health providers. The medical staff in the hospitals – the doctors, nurses and the administrative staff – became the frontline warriors because they were placed directly in the line of fire and were exposed to the virus. It was immediately realized that it was important to save the health providers from becoming the victim of the deadly virus. There was a scramble to procure Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) and N95 masks to work in hazardous environment. Masks also became essential for all citizens. There was a sudden demand for masks of all variety. The market quickly responded

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After enforcing the lockdowns and equipping the health workers with necessary tools to fight the disease, the government set up the National Command and Operational Center (NCOC) to monitor and control the disease

to the demand of the masks of all kinds – synthetic and those made from cloth with a great deal of ingenuity. Many patients had problem breathing and there was an urgent requirement for ventilators. Hospitals were short of this equipment. It had to be imported from abroad until an indigenous production began. Hospitals stopped seeing outdoor patients and governments hired halls and pavilions to set up as quarantine centers. The testing capacity was also enhanced to test potential carriers. Some unscrupulous element started charging exorbitant fees for carrying out virus tests.

The third step was to obtain the willing collaboration of the people to abide by the Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs). There was an initial resistance to abide by orders to wash hands regularly, using sanitizers to disinfect oneself, wearing masks, social distancing and avoiding large gatherings. Only when the news of near and dear ones contracting the disease and dying because of virus sank in did people began observing the SOPs.

As nations came to grip with the situation, central bodies and spokesperson were nominated to advise the governments, devise policies and to keep the people informed. In the US the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) came to be recognized as the central body on virus control,[17] and Dr. Anthony Fauci became the face of the daily health bulletins.[18] In Germany their leading virologist, Dr. Christian Dorsten became the face of the nation's counter corona campaign.[19]

In Pakistan Dr. Zafar Mirza and later Dr. Faisal Sultan became the spokesmen of the government on issues related to corona. The initial damage control was done by the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA). The NDMA procured PPEs, ventilators, testing kits and set up quarantine centers. After enforcing the lockdowns and equipping the health workers with necessary tools to fight the disease, the government set up the National Command and Operational Center (NCOC) to monitor and control the disease. A public service campaign was initiated to sensitize the public about preventive measures such as washing hands frequently for 20 seconds and wearing masks. An innovative caller tune was introduced to remind of this regimen every time they made a call.

Future Scenarios

There can be recurrence of the disease as the businesses, offices and schools have opened up. There can be multiple scenarios e.g.

- **Sudden Spike**

The sudden spike scenario can be the most dangerous one and the government should be prepared to handle it in the most effective manner. The medical supplies should be optimal and adequate stocks should be maintained in all health facilities at the primary, intermediate and tertiary level. All hospitals should have sufficient stocks of PPEs. Testing kits must be handy and regular tests of infected population should be carried out. NCOC should remain operative to monitor the situation and to suggest to the Government to impose smart lockdowns in places where the cases have been reported.

- **Moderate Recurrence**

A moderate recurrence scenario should be expected and the government should have all policies to attend for such eventualities.

- **Slow Burn**

If the virus goes quiet and continues to simmer in isolated pockets, it can lead to a false sense of complacency. All effort must be made to eradicate the disease from all parts of the country. Random testing should continue in potential hotspots and medicine and doctors must be earmarked for a slow burn scenario.

Possible health hazards should be made part of the national security matrix. Health officials should be asked to prepare health hazard hypotheses and prepare contingencies to fight these in a deliberate manner. The health risks should be dovetailed with external and internal threat guesstimates.

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It is quite clear from the experiences of 2020 that there will be very little international cooperation to fight common human suffering. The Line of Control (LOC) will remain aflame and gross human rights violations will continue to be committed in Kashmir and Palestine despite a pandemic

Recommendations

There is a need to prepare at the policy level for a pandemic in the future. The national health policy should clearly provide guidelines on the subject. Possible health hazards should be made part of the national security matrix. Health officials should be asked to prepare health hazard hypotheses and prepare contingencies to fight these in a deliberate manner. The health risks should be dovetailed with external and internal threat guesstimates.

Substantial military resources were diverted towards providing medics and setting up quarantine centers. Military brass was involved in running NDMA and the NCOC. The capacity of the civilian administration and Ministry of Health should be enhanced to tackle the health emergencies on their own. The experiences of COVID19 must be documented and preserved for future reference and guidance.

Money should be invested in subject like virology and pharmacology and training manpower skilled to produce drugs and vaccines. NUST has recently showcased a low cost stent. Other universities and organizations have come up with ventilators and PPEs. All medical universities should be asked to concentrate their efforts in finding an effective corona vaccine. This should become a part of the Higher Commission's and Ministry of Science & Technology's next ten year goals. Health management in the times of a pandemic should be made part of university curricula.

A pandemic also points out the possibility of bio-warfare. This is the easiest form of war and can infect entire populations and render physical fighting useless. Vaccines, serums and toxins must be procured for all kinds of natural and manmade health hazards. The public must be fully sensitized about the perils of viral diseases or toxins that can be spread easily. Hand washing and drinking safe water should be made compulsory at schools and public places.

Conclusion

The COVID19 pandemic gave a rude jolt to the humankind. Unfortunately we have so far not learned any lessons from it. Wars did not come to an end. An urgent appeal for an international ceasefire by the UN Secretary General fell on deaf ears. Debilitating sanctions regime on countries not abiding by the rules set by powerful nations continued to take a heavy toll on the lives of the citizens. No latitude was given for the raging pandemic that was affecting all people irrespective color, cast or creed. There was a wild competition among nations to produce their own vaccine, throwing to the sidelines to arrive at a consensus drug for all human beings. These are all indicators that man is a strange animal and not even the curse of God can deter him or her making mischief for others.

It is quite clear from the experiences of 2020 that there will be very little international cooperation to fight common human suffering. The Line of Control (LOC) will remain aflame and gross human rights violations will continue to be committed in Kashmir and Palestine despite a pandemic. No matter how many resolutions are passed by the UN Security Council or the General Assembly resolutions or WHO advisories, the world will continue to be a dangerous place to live in. The Trump administration has already penalized the WHO by stopping funding. Saner countries can get together to make this international organization more potent. But till this happens the country must be prepared to take health issues seriously. More hospitals must be set up, more health staff be trained and monies be evenly divided on issues of national importance such as defense, health and education. Clearly a sick nation can neither fight a war nor win it.

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US EXIT FROM AFGHANISTAN– EMERGING SCENARIO AND IMPLICATIONS

Khalid Rahman

ABSTRACT

In the wake of the US-Taliban deal 2020, this article attempts to analyze the emerging scenario in the Afghan conundrum, opportunities and challenges for Afghanistan as well as regional stakeholders. It discusses US invasion of Afghanistan, evaluates former's transitory victory over the Taliban government, which was only to be spoiled later by the 'formidable' Taliban, making it 'the longest war' ever fought by the US until it brought both warring parties to the negotiating table for dialogue, which culminated in historic US-Taliban deal (February 2020), requiring release of 5,000 Taliban prisoners, exodus of US forces from Afghanistan, initiation of intra-Afghan talks and reduction of violence. The paper while discussing some positives and challenges to the dialogue process, offers three possible scenarios emerging from the intra-Afghan dialogue; it posits that gradual progress is the likely and sustainable outcome. The paper concludes with a number of lessons that can be drawn from the Afghan Wars and particularly discusses Pakistan's role in the peace process and recommends that it should increase its engagement with Kabul as the US prepares to leave the tumultuous land of Afghanistan.

Keywords: United States, Afghanistan, War on Terrorism, 9/11, Afghan Taliban, Afghan Peace Process, US Forces Withdrawal.

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Whatever may be the background and facts behind the incidents of 9/11, the US, owing to these incidents, had the sympathies of the world as well as some moral reasoning on its side

Introduction

The history of war in the world is as old as the man itself. The summary of this history is that it ends in the defeat and sometimes even demolition of the weak and the victory of the powerful. But if the war prolongs without any victory or defeat, its political, economic and physical costs keep increasing, and then comes a point where the importance of dialogue, diplomacy and arbitration increases manifold. Eventually both parties, looking at their position, decide to call it an end.

The Global War on Terrorism (GWoT) waged by the United States (US) in 2001 against Taliban in Afghanistan has reached the same point after two decades, and a deal between both parties has been made on 29 February 2020 as the first major step to conclude the war. According to the deal, the US forces will completely exit from Afghanistan by May 2021.[1]

In this backdrop, this article seeks to analyze the US exit from Afghanistan and evaluate the emerging scenarios and implications for the later, as well as the regional players, especially Pakistan. The article begins with discussing US invasion of Afghanistan. It then discusses the defeat of the Taliban government but continuation of war with the Taliban, without yielding desired results to the US. The article also evaluates the Afghan Peace Talks which ultimately led towards signing of historic US-Taliban Peace Deal earlier this year. The study explores three possible scenarios emerging from the intra-Afghan dialogue. It also highlights important lessons that could be drawn from the wars in Afghanistan, discusses Pakistan's role and offers a roadmap for its future engagement with Kabul.

US Entry into Afghanistan

If the comparison of both parties from the time of US attack is kept in view, there was no match between the two. The US had emerged as the sole super power of the world after the cold war. It was at the pinnacle of its power not only economically and militarily, but also in terms of political clout.[2] Whatever may be the background and facts behind the incidents of 9/11,[3] the US, owing to these incidents, had the sympathies of the world as well as some moral reasoning on its side.[4]

Afghanistan on the other hand was among the poorest countries of the world. The Taliban-led government in the country was isolated in the world.[5] As a matter of fact, the Taliban government was recognized by only three countries in the world - Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) - even at the peak of its rule.[6] The infrastructure in Afghanistan had already been destroyed due to the civil wars and an earlier war against Soviets lasting over two decades.

In the context of peerless economic, political and military power of the US and its apparently weak opponent, it was quite logical to expect that the war will conclude in a short time. In ordinary circumstances, the only conceivable hurdle the US could have faced was a distance of thousands of miles. Still it had the most advanced and efficient defense technology at its disposal.[7] The way this technology has shrunk the distances, this distance was insignificant, especially when Washington was also backed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and other regional countries, militarily and politically.

War Ends but Enters a New Phase

As expected, the Taliban government lost the war within two months.[8] Nevertheless, the Taliban movement proved to be a formidable fighting force. Thus, the expectations of the US and its allies were not quite met and it became US' 'longest war'. There were many reasons behind this continuous extension but it would suffice to mention here that other than the strengths of both parties, there were other factors, within and outside Afghanistan, linked to dragging the war to the next two decades.[9]

Irrespective of the claims made by both parties, it became evident that considering ground realties, the war could be extended but none of the parties could be forced down to its knees. Still the

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War could have been continued without a result for many more years. It however has its own fatigue and hence when the results are not on offer, it is not easy for any party to drag the war only for the sake of fighting

process of dialogue could not start as there was no shortage of resources for the US and its allies to continue the war while the Taliban on the other hand had nothing to lose in a war which they perceived as a 'religious' and 'holy war'.

The continued human and financial costs[10] over a practically useless war, were slowly becoming a scar[11] on the capabilities as well as the image of the US despite its abundant resources. On the other hand, Taliban, in spite of suffering heavy casualties, were successful in maintaining their organization and strength. They also succeeded in taking hold of a major part of Afghanistan, especially that of its rural areas, and with some ups and downs, they are still able to retain that hold to-date.[12]

It will not be wrong to estimate in this situation that the war could have been continued without a result for many more years. It, however, has its own fatigue and hence when the results are not on offer, it is not easy for any party to drag the war only for the sake of fighting.[13]

The Beginning of the Dialogue Process

This was the background in which the dialogue process was initiated between the US and the Taliban in 2010. Apparently, it was only for the exchange of a few prisoners,[14] but otherwise it was also a sign that the US is now interested in finding a way to exit from Afghanistan. This was the occasion when the US' officials held a meeting with Tayyab Agha, the Taliban leader and a representative of Mullah Umar, in Munich. Held secretly at the time, these contacts were facilitated by Germany and Qatar.[15] The next two rounds of talks were held in 2011 and then finally at the start of 2012, the Taliban were allowed to open their political office in Qatar.[16]

Hence the talks for 29 February 2020 US-Taliban deal – related to US exit as well as the announcement of intra-Afghan dialogue – apparently started 18 months ago in 2019[17], in reality they are linked to the connections which started taking place nearly ten years ago.

The present peace efforts are endorsed by all regional countries and international institutions, the open demonstration of which was seen first at the US-Taliban deal ceremony

Push and Pull in the Emerging Scenario
Some Positives

This backdrop points to the reality that this ten-year period of continued war and dialogue was a sufficient time for the two parties to know each other, understand about each other's weaknesses, strengths, and their positions on different issues. This is why it was expected that things would proceed swiftly following the deal of 29 February 2020.

Another positive aspect is that the US-Taliban deal and the exodus of US forces has given way to a conducive environment, to some extent. Meanwhile some of the imminent complications have been sorted out in this period, while a political will is also present at both sides.

Moreover, the US is no more a direct party in the dialogue process as it has announced the date of complete exit of its forces (by spring 2021),[18] which was the primary demand of the Taliban,[19] before initiating any dialogue. As a result of this exit, Washington will now be able to play a role of a facilitator, whereas the Afghan government, which was divided and in chaos, is now active as a unit for talks, reportedly after the initiative of former President of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai to hold Jirga.[20] Except a few,[21] most of the key players are now on board.

Another achievement is that this time the present peace efforts are endorsed by all regional countries[22] and international institutions, the open demonstration of which was seen first at the US-Taliban deal ceremony on 29 February 2020,[23] and later on 12 September when the intra-Afghan dialogue commenced in Doha.[24] Even the efforts to facilitate intra-Afghan dialogue were being made by Pakistan and other regional players, namely Iran, Russia and China.[25] Hence, apparently any interest from any regional or international player to disrupt these proceedings seems unlikely, at least at this point in time.

The Challenges to Sustainability of the Process

The above is however only one side of the post-US exit deal scenario. To understand and exploit the

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The slow pace of dialogue process has also strengthened the fear that the impending critical issues like ceasefire, future political system, power sharing and constitutional amendments, etc., may take even longer to discuss and finalize

possibilities of the future, it is imperative to evaluate the other side i.e. challenges in sustaining the dialogue and peace process. These challenges are both from within and outside Afghanistan.

Challenges from Within

At the outset one needs to understand that the situation is very complex; as pointed out earlier, even the present deal has practically taken a period of ten years to conclude. Although the deal is substantial in nature, it can only be regarded as an initial progress. It indicates that the complicated matters, which are now on the table, may take longer time than anticipated in sorting out even after the US exit.

- The apprehension also finds strength with the fact that the intra-Afghan dialogue for agenda setting and finalizing the means and processes between the Afghan government and Taliban were supposed to start within ten days after the deal. Instead it took over six months and finally started on 12 September 2020, whereas an increase of violent incidents was also observed during this period.[26] The slow pace of dialogue process following the 12 September has also strengthened the fear that the impending critical issues like ceasefire, future political system, power sharing, and constitutional amendments, etc. may take even longer to discuss and finalize.
- While both Taliban and the US have conceded their original positions[27] to reach the deal, Taliban appear to have emerged stronger in the process.[28] On the other hand, the weaknesses of the Afghan government have been further exposed. The equation in the emerging scenario is that US, despite all of its military, political and economic might, could not bring the Taliban to their knees and had to step back considerably for reaching the deal. Hence, the chances of Kabul government convincing the Taliban to get much in return are not very high. The fear of losing in the dialogue will push Afghan government to employ delay tactics.
- It now seems certain that circumstances are leading towards the formation of a new temporary government.[29] But as it is said 'the devil is in the details', the real question is that whether this temporary government will be formed as per the present constitution of the Afghan government, or will some amendments be introduced in the Afghanistan constitution to suit the Taliban's liking, or will it be based entirely on the latter's suggestions of an Emirati system?[30] Who will be the top leader in this new setting and what will be the distribution of different ministries?
- Ceasefire has not been agreed up till now. So long the ceasefire is not in place, the risk of losing the prevailing, somewhat conducive environment in case of any major untoward incident is quite high. A significant question within this context is that of the position of incumbent President Ashraf Ghani. Any new government setup would automatically terminate his presidency. And in reality, this question is not only valid for Ghani, but for all of his key associates. So there are apprehensions that all such people may like the talks to be stalled for as long as possible, if not failed.
- Another contentious question associated with the future dispensation and constitution is Taliban's position on Shariah. The Taliban primarily are the followers of Hanafi School of thought, hence they are determined to run the affairs of the country as per the same school of thought.[31] The situation in turn could trigger the subject of sectarian tensions as this would be in contradiction of the

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There are many other groups which have developed high stakes with the 'War Economy'; the ending of war and political instability in Afghanistan is likely to dampen their political, social and economic interests

current constitution of Afghanistan, which though is based on Islamic principles, but does not insist on any specific school of thought.[32] Sectarianism though is not a new phenomenon, it has been an instrumental factor in the civil war in the past and also has an external dimension associated with it. Sensing the situation, the Taliban have made moves to reach out to the Shia community during last few months,[33] however, the present negotiating team of the Taliban does not have any Shiite representation.

- The ongoing wars for the last over four decades in Afghanistan have also created a group of warlords within its socio economic and political settings.[34] On the other hand there are many other groups which have developed high stakes with the 'War Economy';[35] and then there are drug and other mafias.[36] The ending of war and political instability in Afghanistan is likely to dampen their political, social and economic interests and hence they will try to disrupt these peace efforts with whatever links and resources they have.
- The decades of war have without a doubt provided Taliban with strong organizational setup reflecting complete unity in their objectives. Irrespective of their internal differences, which existed even during the leadership of Mullah Umar[37] they had only one expressed target i.e. killing the enemy and continue war and as they were underground, which meant little contact with the media and outside world. This kept their differences, if any, not so significant. As the talks and interactions proceed within the political arena, it may become a challenge to retain harmony in the political policies and preferences with the ones following and stressing the military approach.[38] The possibility of some pro-militancy Taliban leaving their ranks, in case of ceasefire can thus not be ruled out. In such a situation the presence of Daesh or other smaller groups will provide them platforms to continue as warriors. Hence Daesh, which is continuing its violence may find itself strengthened[39] in destabilizing the ground and disturbing the peace process.
- The ethnic divide in Afghanistan will also play an important role. Any ethnic group fearing to be left out in the future setups may try to sabotage the peace process and look out for the ways for continuing violent activities. There is no doubt that every ethnic group has at least some capability to disturb the environment in certain areas and they can also find help from external hands. Meanwhile, there will be another challenge to harmonize the Taliban and Afghan National Army on one platform, who have been engaged in fighting for nearly two decades.

The possibility of some pro-militancy Taliban leaving their ranks, in case of ceasefire can thus not be ruled out. In such a situation the presence of Daesh or other smaller groups will provide them platforms to continue as warriors

There is not much unity of thought among different institutions in the US over the exit of its forces and thus leaving Afghanistan

The External Dimension

The above is not an exhaustive list of the challenges emanating from within the Afghanistan, nevertheless, it indicates and summarizes the overall environment where one or a combination of few of these and similar factors could create frequent hurdles. The smooth progress of the process is also dependent on the support from the external front.

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A major consideration for India was to increase pressure on Pakistan, and it also was successful in disrupting Pak-Afghan relations and keeping Pakistan engaged on its disturbed Western borders

The Afghans have a strong tradition of Jirga through which they are able to identify many solutions. Sustaining patience to further the process without letting irritation and annoyance take over will be a test for the facilitators

- At the external front a factor of uncertainty is directly related to the US system and its current approach. It is clear that there is not much unity of thought among different institutions in the US over the exit of its forces[40] and thus leaving Afghanistan. The reasons behind the success of the present deal was the personal interest of President Trump, who continued to stress for the return of its forces despite these differences.[41] After the elections of November 2020, the urgency and the need for continuing and implementing this process may diminish. Now the question is that would Washington still be in favor of continuing with this policy, with the same zeal and spirit with Joe Biden's presidency? Such things have happened in the past when even Obama, in contrast to his openly declared claims of drawdown,[42] had to reinforce the deployment in Afghanistan.[43]
- There is no doubt that all the regional countries are in favor of peace talks at present but would they not be wanting to use the Afghan land to further their interests in the future? India, for instance, has been very active in Afghanistan and it has also invested in it significantly. This investment has not only been in the development projects[44] but also within the government and its intelligence infrastructure.[45] A major consideration for India behind doing all this was to increase pressure on Pakistan, and it also was successful in disrupting Pak-Afghan relations and keeping Pakistan engaged on its disturbed Western borders.[46]
- If the Taliban become a part of the government as expected, New Delhi will be apprehensive that the former will be friendlier towards Pakistan as compared to India.[47] New Delhi, in this situation, will try its best to exploit the existential internal rifts and divisions within the Afghan society and establishment.
- In the last two decades the systems developed in Afghanistan under the patronage of the US, has seen the emergence of a new and active civil society in the country.[48] There is also a powerful media[49] and a dynamic social media community. Whatever shape a civil society may have, it has a global footprint and is also backed by many Western governments. Most of these people are not very comfortable with the ideology of the Taliban and their political and social views and past practices.[50] They express their apprehensions and are quite vocal in opposing the Taliban. They will also be inclined to use their local and international influence and do whatever they can, to create obstructions in the whole process of Afghan dialogue.

Three Possible Scenarios

Considering the above push and pull factors of the complex evolving scenario in Afghanistan, it can be said that it will be a complicated and long process which may frequently face ups and downs. There will be a need for patience and maintaining a positive environment to ensure its sustainability. The Afghans are well aware of this reality as they have a strong tradition of Jirga through which they are able to identify many solutions.[51] Sustaining patience to further the process without letting irritation and annoyance take over will be a test for the facilitators who, pressed in a competitive, and Value for Money (VFM) environment, primarily would wish to see the results as soon as possible.

Afghan Loya Jirga meeting in Kabul, Afghanistan, 7 August 2020

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The third scenario is that of a gradual progress, albeit with some ups and downs. This, among all, is the most likely scenario in view of the push and pull factors

The Taliban now are a recognized on-ground political reality who have been given commitment to be freed from all the US and United Nations (UN) sanctions.[53] Not only have they had dialogue with the US on a level at par, but also they were able to get 5,000 of their prisoners released under the peace deal without any ceasefire following the deal. These are big achievements at their end which they would not want to waste, especially when they also know that 'war fatigue' is increasing[54] and they also realize that the common people now want an end to this plight of 'war' one way or the other.[55] On the other hand, the reliance of the Afghan government over US is an aspect that will push them to have meaningful and result-oriented discussions.[56]

Following the US-Taliban deal and the return of the US forces, intra-Afghan dialogue could lead to three possible scenarios. One, the dialogue will be quick and result-oriented and all the important forces within Afghanistan will collectively set on a new course for the future. As much as this scenario seems heartening and ideal, its transformation into a reality does not seem to be that easy.

The other possibility is that the intra-Afghan dialogue could fail. In spite of the challenges discussed above, it is now easy for everyone to comprehend that this is going to be the worst scenario. Any failure in these talks will pave way for a long, terrifying civil war which will have consequences not only for Afghanistan but the whole region will be rattled with its tremors. In any such situation, the present Kabul regime may not even be able to survive as it is not supposed to be aided by the US air forces anymore.[56] Thus, the regime in Kabul and, as a consequence, roles in Kabul might change but the destruction will go on.

The third scenario is that of a gradual progress, albeit with some ups and downs. This, among all, is the most likely scenario in view of the push and pull factors discussed above. It will be long but would possibly be the most sustainable and productive future for Afghanistan and the region.

For a sustainable peace and stability, it will be imperative to admit that all parties have made mistakes. There is a need to reflect over those mistakes, draw lessons and move forward

Conclusion and Recommendations

While the above discussion was focused on the US-led war in Afghanistan the lessons that could be drawn from it are not very different from what the earlier Afghan wars in the recent past have shown. These wars spanning over four decades have brought to light many realities. The peace deal as well as the intra-Afghan dialogue, both can be regarded as stages at best and not the final conclusion. For a sustainable peace and stability, it will be imperative to admit that all parties have made mistakes. There is a need to reflect over those mistakes, draw lessons and move forward keeping eyes firmly on the future, while learning from past mistakes.

Whatever may be the title of the Afghan war, the vested political and economic interests, especially the control over its geostrategic position and its mineral resources remained the main reason in the backdrop. But these objectives were not met by anyone due to the unending war. The desire in many countries to occupy these resources, however, has still not diminished. On the other hand, Afghanistan neither has skills nor the means to exploit these natural resources. This can offer a vast scope for cooperation, and all parties having interest in this will need to walk the path of cohesion and cooperation.

The weaknesses of global governance have once again been exposed during the Afghanistan wars. Though the UN was apparently present on every occasion at every stage of war, there are many genuine questions seeking answers about its actual required role and control over the ground. Their might be no quick fix to address these questions, nevertheless, these cannot and should not be ignored.

A pertinent set of, academic and legal, as well as social and political questions which are directly related to the Afghan war is regarding terrorism, its definition and the treatment it requires to be contained. The US, while attacking Afghanistan titled its war as 'War on Terrorism'. Ironically, to end the war, Washington is engaged in negotiations with the same people it regarded as 'terrorist' earlier to justify its 18-year war on 'terrorism'. Actions of terrorism cannot be justified yet the handling requires a much prudent approach than simply using brute force. Lastly, it is imperative to understand the anthropological and political realities for lasting stability and peace in Afghanistan. The multi-ethnic, multi-tribal confederations transformed into the state of

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Afghanistan and its governing machineries need to be kept in view. An exhaustive account, anthropologizing the modern day Afghan society can help formulate an effective and meaningful strategy for dealing with the imbroglio created during the last four decades.

The regional and global stakeholders in all sincerity should realize that historically, the Mullahs (clergy), Malaks (tribal lords) and Padshahs (the Kings) were the key elements of Afghan state and society. The unending disruptions and divisions cannot be countered and stemmed without harmonizing these elements according to the socio-political culture of Afghanistan for a permanent and durable solution for peace and stability.

Role of Pakistan

Islamabad has always been a staunch supporter of peace and stability in Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, Pakistan has consistently stressed for 'Afghan-owned and Afghan-led peace process' and the same has finally commenced now. The former has played a key role in bringing the Afghan peace process to its current stage, which is a great achievement given the hardline approach of the Taliban.[57] It is time for Pakistan to strengthen its linkages and engagement further not only with the Taliban, but also with the other entities affirmatively, ultimately seeking winning over the hearts and minds of all concerned in Afghanistan. Incidents causing strains in mutual relations may occur, but these should only be seen as accidents and treated like that; these should not become a subject of any blame game.

A large number of Afghans, regardless of background, have spent considerable time in Pakistan as refugees. Many of them—including even people like Dr Abdullah Abdullah and Hamid Karzai— are now performing in senior positions. Connections of all these people with Pakistan should be used effectively to further mutual trust and relations between both countries to promote sustainable peace.

Pakistan has been a direct victim of the wars in Afghanistan: along with suffering huge human and financial losses, it has hosted five million Afghan refugees

Peace and stability in Afghanistan will not only warrant peace in Pakistan, but will also facilitate return of Afghan refugees, an improved border management and increased bilateral trade between the two countries

Pakistan has been a direct victim[58] of the wars in Afghanistan, along with suffering huge human and financial losses, it has hosted five million Afghan refugees. There are fears of having a whole new lot of Afghan refugees migrating to Pakistan in case of failed peace talks. Therefore, the success of the peace process is the most favorable option for Pakistan; for the realization of which it should take all possible measures as it cannot afford a failure in talks.

Peace and stability in Afghanistan will not only warrant peace in Pakistan, but will also facilitate return of Afghan refugees, an improved border management and increased bilateral trade between the two countries by paving a way for various other ventures from Afghanistan to the Central Asian Republics (CARs).[59] The success of the peace process will also be crucial for the success of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which is not only vital for this region, but owing to its connection with the Belt & Road Initiative (BRI), is also a part of the global game-changer plan.[60]

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Keeping in view the deep rooted historical, geographical, linguistic, cultural and civilizational ties, Pakistan and Afghanistan can rightly be seen as two countries - one nation

In the longer terms, Pakistan should aim for establishing a new cooperation model with Afghanistan. Together Pakistan and Afghanistan are a population of 250 million. If the recent, somewhat bitter history of Pak- Afghan relations is ignored and the deep rooted historical, geographical, linguistic, cultural and civilizational ties are kept in view, both these countries can rightly be seen as two countries - one nation. Building on these grounds, they could move for a mutually cohesive planning over basic necessities of life; first in food security and health arenas, which then could be followed with cooperation on water and environmental issues and improving and expanding educational infrastructure. Later a gradual progress can be made in other areas like infrastructure development, tourism and sports, industries and minerals etc. Instead of making big announcements over these ventures, this progress should be targeted with a bit by bit practical approach.

The way Pakistan has hosted Afghan refugees for 40 years, can actually serve as an example or a pilot for any such ideation or planning. If matters are proceeded within this spirit, then complicated issues like border management will be automatically sorted out.

Wars bring destructions, and the human losses incurred during a war can never be compensated, but if the end of the war is managed prudently, the fruits of peace can far outweigh the destruction the war has caused.

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NOTES

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"SINO-INDIA CONFLICT IN THE ASIAN CENTURY: THE NEW GREAT POWER COMPETITION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN"

Senator
Sherry Rehman

ABSTRACT

The 2020 Ladakh military face-off between China and India has pushed the unresolved Sino-Indian border conflict into the crosshairs of intense international focus. Key socio-economic and geo-political factors have extended this dangerous conflict beyond a bilateral prism into a regional arc of conflict. Because of the spectacular socio-economic and military rise of China and India, the post-Cold War unipolar liberal international order led by the United States and its geo-political alignments are now confronted with the reality of managing the rise of these two Asian powers. Pakistan finds itself caught at the epicenter of an unstable new power triangle of the US, China and India, while surging Great Power Competition in Asia is beginning to impact both foreign policy and national security outcomes in the region, most significantly so for Islamabad. In this evolving landscape, Pakistan needs to assess the big-picture security metrics of the simmering Sino-India conflict to calibrate an effective policy agenda and response. This essay outlines key strategic contours, emerging risks and policy options for Pakistan in the unfolding Sino-India conflict.

Keywords: India-China standoff, Galwan Valley, Ladakh, Kashmir, Pak-China, Indo-Pak

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Introduction

The summer of 2020 will be marked in South Asian history for the unexpectedly violent and game-changing China-India military standoff that erupted on the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the Galwan Valley of the disputed Ladakh region. On June 15th, tensions spilled into a physical battle fought with stones and batons. It claimed the lives of 20 Indian soldiers[1] and a colonel, as well as injured several Chinese soldiers,[2] without the firing of a single shot. Tensions have continued with another face-off recurring in end-August.[3] The new area where India and China are now engaged in a stand-off is at the southern bank of Pangong Tso lake, unlike the earlier face-off which was limited to Galwan Valley.[4]

Despite the papering over of the second border conflict in one year, there is little doubt that this year's events have pushed the unresolved Sino-Indian border conflict into the crosshairs of a new phase of dangerous strategic tensions

Looking back, the Sino-Indian war of October 1962 remains the single most violent event in their bilateral history that resulted in nearly 3,000 Indian and 700 Chinese casualties. Over the past five decades, the border dispute has sustained intermittent tensions and face-offs, but has not hampered the parallel growth of an unprecedented economic partnership worth billions of dollars, which is also supported by bilateral and multilateral foreign policy cooperation. This strong interdependence was illustrated in the quick de-escalation that followed the Galwan fight earlier this year, where both sides agreed to an "early and complete disengagement" of troops on the LAC and "de-escalation of border areas to ensure the restoration of peace and smooth relations".[5] While the more recent stand-off that started on August 29th, at the southern bank of Pangong Tso lake has gone on for longer than a week, and shots were fired for the first time in decades, pragmatism driven in part by economic impetus drove the behavior of the two states as they met to manage the conflict. In a show of smart summitry, the Foreign Ministers of both countries agreed that the current situation in the border areas does not serve the interests of either side. In a joint statement released on September 11, 2020, the two sides publicly aligned themselves on the same page about the need for border troops of both sides to "continue dialogue, quickly disengage, maintain proper distance, and ease tensions".[6]

Despite the papering over of the second border conflict in one year, there is little doubt that this year's events have pushed the unresolved Sino-Indian border conflict into the crosshairs of a new phase of dangerous strategic tensions not just between two nuclear countries but also clear regional rivals. The conflict has also generated intense international attention, principally because the threat of potential rupture in a broadly cooperative relationship that has been carefully curated between the two countries in the last few years has gone up exponentially. At the same time, a number of socio-economic and geo-political factors have extended this conflict beyond a bilateral prism into a regional arc of conflict. At this point, not only does the danger of escalation signal a clear and present threat of territorial conflict, but also spirals up the risk of unpredictability which can trigger a range of unforeseen consequences. In this context of heightened mutual suspicions, the potential volatility of eruptions on unstable borders which are not demarcated or agreed upon, present themselves as ongoing triggers for conflict, creating a hotspot at the confluence of great strategic shifts marking the new geo-political competition in the continent.

This year's violence in Ladakh, therefore, symbolizes the play-out of a new Great Power competition in the heart of Asia. Owing to the phenomenal socio-economic and military rise of China and India in parallel, the post-Cold War unipolar liberal international order led by the United States and its geo-political alignments are now confronted with an emerging reality of managing the rise of the two Asian powers that together hold a quarter of the world's total population. Both have become strategically ambitious and globally assertive in how they project power across a regional and international span of economic, political, structural, and ideological terrain.

Not only does China's dramatic rise pose challenges for American supremacy and power alignments in the region, it has also raised new geo-

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Recently released Pentagon's Annual 2020 report entitled "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China" demonstrates how sharply Washington D.C. is recalibrating its strategic calculus and capabilities to counter China

political and geo-economic questions for its Asian neighbors that have hitherto orbited around the US as the preeminent global power. To this effect, the US has made its 'contain China' strategy public. The recently released Pentagon's Annual 2020 report entitled "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China" demonstrates how sharply Washington D.C. is recalibrating its strategic calculus and capabilities to counter China:[7]

"Given the continuity in the PRC's strategic objectives, the past 20 years offer a harbinger for the future course of the PRC's national strategy and military aspirations. Certainly, many factors will determine how this course unfolds. What is certain is that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has a strategic end state that it is working towards, which if achieved and its accompanying military modernization left unaddressed, will have serious implications for US national interests and the security of the international rules-based order".[8]

Due to growing anxiety from the US and India about the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Pakistan is currently confronted with a slew of foreign policy and national security challenges from the fallout of Great Power competition

In this context of rapid change, Pakistan finds itself caught at the epicenter of a new power triangle of the US, China and India. Due to growing anxiety from the US and India about the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Pakistan is currently confronted with a slew of foreign policy and national security challenges from the fallout of Great Power competition. Despite the changes it has brought in the global balance of power, the new Asian century is clearly not an easy transition for any state. Considering the geographic proximity and the complex relational history shared with each of these powers, Pakistan needs to factor in the essential elements of this competition to ensure protection of its national interests in a rapid re-ordering of the regional and global balance of power.

Three major security dimensions of the evolving Sino-India conflict need to be factored in by Pakistan in order to calibrate an effective policy agenda and response:

1) Territorial; 2) Economic; and 3) Geo-Political.

Territorial Security

The Sino-Indian border dispute involves about 13, 500 square miles in Ladakh and Aksai Chin and about 35,000 square miles in the north eastern Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh, which China calls South Tibet. The LAC is patrolled by both armies, and there has been no final agreement on its exact location. It is a loose line of demarcation of the disputed area that is divided into three sectors. Its western sector separates the Indian-controlled territory of eastern Ladakh from the Chinese-administered territory of Aksai Chin, which is also claimed by India. Despite signing six bilateral agreements[9] to reduce the risk of combat, face-offs have remained persistent, with this summer's clash being the deadliest in years (A Historical Timeline of Sino-Indian Border Conflict).[11] China has built a network of roads and tracks on its side of LAC. India is also investing in borderland infrastructure development, though at a slower pace, and it has been consistently opposed by China (see Box 1 with Map: Key Infrastructure Developments on China-India Border).[10]

Box 1: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-53171124

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Chinese analysts view the present conflict not as a usual one-off border skirmish but an "inevitable result" of "India's long-standing speculative strategy" on the border

China's decisive action in Galwan this year was based on an astute reading of India's growing expansionist maneuvers in the regional terrain. The most recent has been the Bharatiya Janata Party government's illegal action on 5 August 2019 of annexing Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu & and Kashmir and Ladakh, [IIOJK] as two Union Territories, with the new Indian maps showing Ladakh and Aksai Chin as Indian territories. Chinese analysts view the present conflict not as a usual one-off border skirmish but an "inevitable result" of "India's long-standing speculative strategy" on the border. From Doklam to Kashmir to India's "unending infrastructure arms race" at the LAC, they say, Beijing was "fed up" and "had to teach India a lesson".[11] One must remember that as per UN Security Council resolutions, India is in illegal occupation of IIOJK, of which Ladakh is a part.[12]

Facing off a belligerent India, today's hardline Chinese strategists advise practicing the "Three Nos"– "No weakness, No concession and No defensive defence"

While India managed to shape a strong message in the narrative war (domestically and internationally) during the Ladakh fight, it has maintained a posture of cautious ambivalence on the actual status of New Delhi's subsequent border talks with China and status of the current land control on its side of the LAC.[13] The fact is that China has now reached its claim line of 1959 in the Ladakh sector, causing loss of territory for India, which has withdrawn two kilometers east from ground that it claimed as its own.[14]

Undoubtedly, Ladakh has demonstrated China's conventional power over India without deploying artillery or extensive power in air, cyber, space and the electromagnetic spectrums through which it can seriously disrupt, disable and destroy India's communications and Command & Control capabilities at all levels.[15] The Chinese have also articulated their position clearly to a slightly bemused India, which expected perhaps a less aggressive response from the PLA in this round. In fact, facing off a belligerent India, today's hardline Chinese strategists advise practicing the "Three Nos" – "no weakness, no concession and no defensive defence", as a stabilizer for bilateral relations.[16] Clearly, for Beijing, the US threat is the serious one within which it needs to 'manage' India's aggression:

> "Eastern Ladakh, in the larger strategic scheme, is not a tier-one issue for China. Beijing's bigger problem is an aggressive United States. Its moves in Ladakh are more about keeping India under pressure since India's August 5 decision to change the status of occupied Kashmir, including Ladakh. Put another way, Beijing's strategy is to space out its pricks and probes but ensure that the situation does not get out of hand. It's a strategy of slow attrition. It is not without reason that China continues to talk at the military and diplomatic levels. That India does too is a clear signal to Beijing that New Delhi is not looking for a fight but a face-saver".[17]

The current, evolving scenario is ripe for putting into practice India's 'two-front war' doctrine that stems from its perceived threat emanating from a China-Pakistan strategic combine

But here's the caveat. At no point should India's muted responses to its Ladakh face-offs with China be mistaken for its acceptance of the current territorial status quo. With the US encouraging India to act as strategic proxy in the region, New Delhi seems determined to militarily engage with China, even as it faces serious budgetary constraints, especially after the economic downturn it faces due to Covid-19.[18] In its Modi-Doval doctrinal approach, New Delhi is preparing to position an additional 35,000 troops along the LAC, which will be in addition to its heavy military commitment at the 742 kilometers of the LoC with Pakistan and its counter-insurgency operations within IIOJK. To prop up its posture of challenging China as emerging regional hegemon, India's additional manpower and hardware commitments in Ladakh will cause increased pressure on its military's operational serviceability, research & development and capital expenditures, which will be difficult to sustain unless New Delhi increases its defense budget.[19]

As it stands, the current, evolving scenario is ripe for putting into practice India's 'two-front war' doctrine that stems from its perceived threat emanating from a China-Pakistan strategic combine. To all observers, India is clearly preparing for

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The post-Balakot regional strategic matrix has now become a trilateral conflict theater in which limited wars between India and Pakistan or India and China could escalate into a bigger regional conflagration between the three nuclear-armed countries

confrontation with both countries on land, in air, and in water, thereby extending the conflict to a 'two-ocean war'. Indian media reports have cited Indian Military, Navy and Air Force build-ups on the Western front with Pakistan, and Northern and Eastern fronts with China.[20,21] In early September, Indian Chief of Defence Staff, General Bipin Rawat warned Pakistan against trying to take advantage of the Sino-Indian confrontation in Ladakh: "If any threat develops around our northern borders, Pakistan could take advantage of that and create some trouble for us. Therefore, we have taken adequate precautions to ensure that any such misadventure by Pakistan is thwarted. In fact, Pakistan may suffer heavy losses should it attempt any misadventure".[22] India has also renewed its interest in the Quad – the US led Quadrilateral Alliance including Australia, Japan and India, which Washington wants to grow into an anti-Beijing bulwark in the Indo-Pacific. In fact, on September 11, 2020, the Times of India reported that Japan has now become the sixth country, after the US, France, Australia, South Korea, and Singapore, with which India has signed an agreement to "enable military forces to share logistics to support each other's warships and aircraft as well as bolster overall interoperability and defence cooperation".[23] At the same time, it is also clear that none of America's permanent strategic-interest policies will be significantly impacted by a November change in government in Washington, although a second Trump-led Republican term is likely to solidify the bond between India and the US to new heights and perhaps enhance New Delhi's strategic belligerence as well as attempts at economic decoupling of supply chains and economies with China.

In effect then, the post-Balakot regional strategic matrix has now become a trilateral conflict theater in which limited wars between India and Pakistan or India and China could escalate into a bigger regional conflagration between the three nuclear-armed countries. In lieu of New Delhi's inability to strike China, Pakistan should expect to be targeted by India across the LoC as well as its increased support for asymmetrical proxies targeting CPEC security interests across Pakistan's terrain, including Gilgit-Baltistan, Balochistan and Sindh. The terror attack in June on the Karachi Stock Exchange, where China has a large stake, was ascribed to the Baloch Liberation Army, which has well-documented linkages to Indian intelligence agencies.[24] Although this meddling is largely ignored in Western capitals, several cases of Indian espionage including that of Kulbhushan Jadhav have surfaced over the last few years, with BLA insurgents either receiving funding, medical treatment and other facilitation in India.

Economic Security

Three decades ago, China and India had similarly sized economies and spent nearly the same amount on defence. Today, China has shown significant growth in its defence establishment;[25] it is the world's manufacturing factory and its GDP is more than five times that of India. China is India's second-largest trading partner after the US, with India importing almost seven times more from China than it exports to it. In 2018-19, India's exports to China were a mere $16.7 billion, while imports were $70.3 billion, leaving a trade deficit of $53.6 billion. India's trade deficit with China stands at 50% of the country's total trade deficit.[26]

The pandemic effect has of course cut a wide swathe through this economic power-house and its markets, like everywhere else. COVID-19 has weakened the world economies, and countries are struggling to build resilience while finding alternatives to their high dependence on Chinese supply lines. As an early response, India had begun taking protectionist measures on its trade with China even before the Ladakh clash. Yet the actual chronology of growing apart had begun with China's new Belt and Road Initiative, when India had rejected participating in China's big new push to re-shape the Asian economic landscape through investment platforms that exported its growing surplus. In November 2019, China joined 14 countries in agreeing on terms for the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), but India pulled out at the last minute saying the deal would hurt its farmers, businesses, workers and consumers. In April 2020, India amended its foreign direct investment (FDI) policy to tighten scrutiny over foreign

The Ladakh episode in June caused an immediate backlash in the economic domain, with New Delhi facing domestic calls to boycott Chinese goods, especially mobile apps and electronic goods

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It is no coincidence that Bangladeshi media reported a slowing of Indian projects since the re-election of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajed in 2019 while Chinese infrastructure projects began receiving more favor from Dhaka

investments from bordering countries, primarily China (Pakistan and Bangladesh already face restrictions).[27]

In May 2020, Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced the beginning of 'Aatmanirbhar Bharat' -- a new era of economic self-reliance and a push to bring supply chains back home to ensure resilience. Though the new FDI policy does not prohibit Chinese investment, it does point to India's preference to direct the investment to favored sectors and control it. According to the Indian Ministry of Commerce, tighter restrictions on Chinese investment became necessary in order to prevent "opportunistic takeovers" of Indian companies. The scale of Chinese investment power was such that as recently as March 2020, the Chinese central bank had bought a one percent stake in India's largest non-banking mortgage provider, HDFC Bank, bringing its total holdings in the lender to 1.75 percent.[28]

The Ladakh episode in June 2020 caused an immediate backlash in the economic domain, with New Delhi facing domestic calls to boycott Chinese goods, especially mobile apps[29] and electronic goods. But this broad level of chauvinism against China is as much a symptom of India's competitive weakness in the face of the Asian Dragon's economic power as it is about Narendra Modi's political reliance on Indian hyper-nationalism. The important change marking this inflection point is that until today, Chinese investments were poised to acquire controlling stakes in India's e-commerce and tech start-ups. Post-Ladakh, Indian worry has amplified to effective policy concern about the Chinese government's influence over private technology companies' foreign activities, technology transfer, access to sensitive data, Chinese censorship policies, protection of intellectual property rights, data privacy, and national security. Similar to the US trade backlash against China, Indian fears that dependence on Chinese technology for 5G critical infrastructure will make it vulnerable to espionage, sabotage, and blackmail, will have an effect on policy. At the same time, the Indian tech sector's heavy dependence on Chinese investments will not make the break easy or immediate. The exposure list is high: out of India's 30 start-ups that are valued at $1 billion or more, 18 are recipients of Chinese funding from giants, such as Alibaba and Tencent[30] while India's pharma sector is

Out of India's 30 start-ups that are valued at $1 billion or more, 18 are recipients of Chinese funding from giants such as Alibaba and Tencent

also critically dependent on Chinese imports used in drugs manufacturing.

For its part, China has been fairly unresponsive to India's requests to address the huge trade deficit. To the contrary, it has accused India's new FDI policy of being discriminatory and in violation of the World Trade Organization's free trade rules. Unlike, New Delhi, which retains an aggressive and often unpredictable posture in South Asia, Beijing's bid for Eurasian economic leadership has prompted rational messaging and smart diplomacy. Promptly responding to the post-Ladakh, China-boycott campaign, for instance, it counseled India to be 'logical' and to keep trade and investment issues separate from border issues. This is in complete alignment with Beijing's sharply defined agenda of economic growth as a top national and international priority.[31] The clarity and heft of Beijing's public messaging was reflected across its institutional framework, as despite the Ladakh clash, China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank vowed to remain an "apolitical institution" while continuing extending its support to projects in India.[32] In parallel, Beijing stayed on track in the South Asian region by intensifying economic ties with Bangladesh by offering to waive 97% of tariff on 5,161 items that Bangladesh trades with China.[33] It is no coincidence that Bangladeshi media reported a slowing of Indian projects since the re-election of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajed in 2019 while Chinese infrastructure projects began receiving more favor from Dhaka.[34]

On the whole, while the BJP's protectionist economic position on China is in lockstep with its

India bans Chinese apps

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Under the rubric of its growing national 'confidence' and 'rising power', India has quickly latched onto the US grand geo-political and geo-economic strategy of 'containing China' by becoming America's new pivot in Asia

hyper-nationalist narrative, barring new 'black swan' developments, Indian policy actions will not result in a speedy 'de-coupling' of the two economies any time soon. The new FDI policy may give New Delhi some bargaining power in future negotiations with Beijing, principally because Indian markets continue to attract Chinese investments for multiple reasons. But as an emerging trendline, bilateral economic trajectories seem set to follow a path of competition with cooperation. This projection will also influence both countries' security and strategic calculi. The rapid post-Ladakh de-escalation must be seen against these economic realities.

Geo-Political Security

Finally, given that China-India clashes have erupted again after the Ladakh cycle, all territorial and economic security trends must be viewed in the larger geo-political security scenario that is unfolding in the region. New lines are being drawn in shifting sands. Unsurprisingly, New Delhi has adopted a consistent policy articulation against CPEC's 'legality', while upping the drumbeat on its old territorial claims on Azad Jammu & Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan. These deliberate provocations are clearly aimed at the long-standing geo-strategic, political, economic and security partnership between China and Pakistan that has gathered new impetus through increased cooperation in emerging opportunity areas of: i) CPEC, ii) Pakistan's efforts for global counter-terrorism compliance, primarily at FATF, iii) Pakistan's stance on Kashmir, iv) US endgame in Afghanistan, v) and a clear shift in Pakistan's foreign and security policy towards greater regional integration with neighbors.[35] Under the rubric of its growing national 'confidence' and 'rising power', India has quickly latched onto the US grand geo-political and geo-economic strategy of 'containing China' by becoming America's new pivot in Asia.

In this clear post-Nehruvian calculus of alignments, India's strong ties with Russia act as a useful buffer to full-fledged conflict due primarily to Moscow's major stakes for peace in the Eurasian region. Despite all the noise about the pole position America is acquiring with India, in a bid to make the best of the gains that the new global multipolarity has to offer, Russia has not been dislodged as India's closest partner for its defence and energy (including nuclear energy) needs.[36] At the same time, both Russia and China have invested heavily in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (that includes the Central Asian Republics, India and Pakistan), and the Afghanistan peace process. Moscow and Beijing have converged strategically to meet Washington's challenge to their Asia-Pacific security paradigms. They view India as playing a key role in neutralizing the US threat, although limits to this role may emerge in some situations. Arguably, the view that India is not in one fixed camp of allies may be strengthened, especially after the post-Ladakh

The more pragmatic elements in New Delhi's strategic community are beginning to acknowledge the limits of India's capabilities versus its over-blown ambitions

reputational questions that have been raised about India's actual versus projected, capabilities to counter China.[37] This includes India's reported intelligence failures to detect Chinese movements ahead of the Ladakh crisis, as well as historical "other intractable issues in India's national security system".[38] Additionally, the reported China-Iran $400 billion framework agreement spanning 25 years for energy plus is another significant geo-political development in the region. Although it is too early to expect failure of Indian strategy to counter CPEC by investing in Iran's Chabahar Port project,[39] the latest developments open new opportunities for both China and Pakistan to check threats from a US-India pivot alliance. This can be buttressed by growing stabilization in US-Pakistan ties because of Pakistan's winning facilitation in the Afghanistan peace process, where India has been caught on the strategic back-foot for the moment and is considering its limited options. Hence, New Delhi cannot expect any time soon a clear validation from Washington on its position toward Pakistan, which adds to its insecurity. The more pragmatic elements in New Delhi's strategic community are beginning to acknowledge the limits of India's capabilities versus its over-blown ambitions. As one senior analyst starkly observes:

"India's inability to clearly articulate, identify and address the Chinese threat is also a function of another sobering realization within the establishment regarding the limited utility when it comes to Euro-American assistance in checking China in South Asia. In an international system that is preoccupied with the

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For Pakistan to safeguard its national security interests from territorial, economic and geo-political risks, Islamabad must astutely read the emerging trendlines on strategic thinking in China, India, US, Russia, Iran and other key players

domestic political, economic and public health worries of COVID-19, there is little enthusiasm to resolutely stand by India in pushing back China. The unpredictability of US President Donald Trump adds to Indian woes, and until a new President is sworn in, in January 2021, Washington DC's ability to make up its mind and act on it vis-à-vis China-India affairs would be limited. New Delhi does recognize this lukewarm global mood, and so does Beijing. Picking a fight with China, therefore, is not the wisest strategy; obfuscating the exact nature of the China threat is indeed a much better strategy".[9]

Securing Pakistan's Interests: Need for a Pragmatic Policy Outlook

For Pakistan to safeguard its national security interests from territorial, economic and geo-political risks, Islamabad must astutely read the emerging trendlines on strategic thinking in China, India, US, Russia, Iran and other key players. China's strategy towards India appears to be driven by a dual objective to maintain border status quo by making India retreat without a military conflict, and to not push it towards the US by maintaining a strong economic partnership[11]. Both inside India and more so, outside, a significant degree of political capital has been lost due to the Modi

China and Pakistan border guards

While an Indian compulsion for restraint with Beijing in the near term is very obvious, it does not preclude almost zero Indian appetite for normalization of ties with Pakistan

regime's muted response to the Ladakh crisis. However, the spike in the BJP's officially stoked ultra-nationalism suggests that Islamabad should not be sanguine about India's new revisionism. While an Indian compulsion for restraint with Beijing in the near term is very obvious, it does not preclude almost zero Indian appetite for normalization of ties with Pakistan.

Despite the Covid-19 setback, the connectivity options now open to China are increasingly viewed in zero-sum containment models by American-Indian policy influencers. Given their growing anxiety, Pakistan should expect, and game for more hostility at multilateral forums on CPEC as well as Kashmir. Pragmatically, Islamabad must neither claim premature strategic victories in Afghanistan, nor must it view China as a sole guarantor for its security. By doing so, Pakistan will risk underestimating the complex nature of the Sino-India relationship that largely propels Beijing to maintain a careful balancing act between its ally, Islamabad and its rival, New Delhi. China is also a traditionally restrained actor at multilateral forums, which is why Pakistan must not test its one strategic ally and friend with more diplomatic battles than it has the appetite for.

As the Afghan transition stutters to a messy endgame for America, which is quite likely given the nature of the US-Taliban bargain, a different level of harm to Islamabad's stakes in regional peace may emerge. Although Pakistan stands to gain nothing if intra-Afghan talks don't take root in a more inclusive governance model, when violence surges – which is inherent to the conditions – New Delhi will likely use all its soft power via American interlocutors to advance the view of a hostile and sponsored Taliban-Pakistan 'partnership'.

A surge of big-power maritime competition in Asia, with the potential to flare up into littoral warfare from the Malacca to the Hormuz Straits may also impact many shorelines and policy choices

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Given India's heightened unpredictability, sharpened in the context of multipolar bids for hegemony in the Indian Ocean and West Pacific regions, Pakistan should game all potential border responses.

With India acquiring a non-permanent seat at the UNSC, its lobbying against Pakistan will be amplified this round, both in defence of unilateralism in IIOJK, but also against Pakistan. Advocacy for harsh terminology on Pakistan's alleged state-terrorism as a tool is now being normalized at international forums, and the institutional effort for inserting it into multilateral instruments and reports against Pakistan is already ramping up. These are important because they impact country-status from areas as diverse as human rights, trade, terror-financing, nuclear security and other qualifier benchmarks.

A surge of big-power maritime competition in Asia, with the potential to flare up into littoral warfare from the Malacca to the Hormuz Straits may also impact many shorelines and policy choices. After the LAC standoff with China, India has increased its surveillance posture in the Indian Ocean Region as a key member of the Quad. With India's growing naval aggression and blue-water build-up, Pakistan must guard its flank. Given India's heightened unpredictability, sharpened in the context of multipolar bids for hegemony in the Indian Ocean and West Pacific regions, Pakistan should game all potential border responses.

Beyond its traditional security considerations, however, Pakistan must now fully embrace its economic development agenda that is premised on increased regional connectivity and cooperation with its neighbors. This is also a consistent message from a market-focused Beijing, which prioritizes the success of its BRI and CPEC initiatives and will not allow escalation of conflict to derail them. China seems inclined to contain itself in pursuit of its economic interests therefore, a greater role for China in the Kashmir question remains a hope, and hope is not a strategy.

Lastly, Pakistan must commission an internal overhaul of its policy-making agility, domestic political unity challenges and external narrative ambitions. A country's ability to project power in the 21st century is as much related to its economic strength and the state of its public and cultural institutions as it is to its military prowess. So far, Islamabad's track record in shaping smart policy responses is limited principally by its own diplomatic lethargy and economic fragility, not strategic planning.

Senator Sherry Rehman has served as the Leader of Opposition in Senate, Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States and Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting. She is the Founding Chair and serving President of the Jinnah Institute, Chair of the Climate Change Caucus in Parliament, Chair of the CPEC Committee in Senate.

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41.

1947-1962

China builds 1200 kilometre road connecting Xinjiang and western Tibet 179 kilometres run south of the Johnson Line through the Aksai Chin region claimed by India. It eventually escalates into the Sino-Indian War in October 1962, leading to nearly 3,000 casualties from the Indian side, and 700 from the Chinese.

1975

Indian and Chinese armies clash at Tulung La, Tawang district of the northeastern state of Arunachal Pradesh. Four Indian soldiers are killed.

JUNE 2017

A military standoff occurs in the disputed territory of Doklam, near the Doka La pass along Sikkim and the Bhutan border. China brings heavy road building equipment to the Doklam region and begins constructing a road. This results in the Indian intervention of China's road construction.

MAY 5, 2020

Indian and Chinese soldiers clash at Pangong Tso, the lake that extends from Ladakh to the Tibetan Autonomous Region, China, with the LAC passing through it. A video shows soldiers from both nations engaged in fistfight, and stone pelting along the LAC.

1914

Britain, the Republic of China and Tibet gather in Shimla to negotiate a treaty for the status of Tibet and settle the borders between China and British India.
The Chinese refuse to sign the deal. But Britain and Tibet sign a treaty establishing the McMahon Line, which India maintains is the official legal border between China and India. But China has never accepted it.

1957

The Kongka La and Che La clashes begin on September 8, 1957, when the Chinese army reportedly attacks an Indian post at Kongka La, a mountain pass in the Himalayas in the East Sikkim state.

APRIL 2013

India says Chinese troops establish a camp in the Daulat Beg Oldi sector 10 km (6.2 mi) on their side of the Line of Actual Control (LAC). The de facto border between the two countries. The figure is to be later revised to a 19 km (11.8 mi) claim. Soldiers from both countries briefly set up camps facing each other, but the tension is defused when both sides pull back.

AUGUST 2017

An incident occurs at Pangong Tso or the Pangong Lake, at an altitude of about 14,271 feet. Several soldiers on both sides sustain injuries. Indian media reports that around 72 Indian soldiers are injured in the confrontation.

MAY 10, 2020

Faceoff at the Mugu Karpo Valley in Sikkim. Several troops numbering 11 men are left slightly injured in the encounter, of which seven are Chinese soldiers and four Indian ones.

MAY 21, 2020

Chinese troops enter into the Galwan River valley in Ladakh region, citing objections to Indian road construction. The road under construction is said to branch off from the Darbuk-Shyok-Daulat Beg Oldi Road and lead into the Galwan valley.

JUNE 18, 2020

Indian External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar and Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi, agree that the overall situation should be handled in a responsible manner, and both sides would implement disengagement understanding of 6 June. The US, UK and Russia urge China and India to engage in dialogue and show restraint.

JUNE 28, 2020

The strategic Y Hills near the Shyok Galwan area has become the new frontier for Indian and Chinese troops after the construction of a new post and infrastructure in Galwan Valley is believed to have cut off the traditional access to Patrol Point 14 on LAC.

JUNE 6, 2020

Amid tensions, IAF conducts night time operations in east Ladakh. The disengagement of troops of China and India is reported to have begun following intensive diplomatic, military talks.

AUGUST 29-31, 2020

Dueling forces at Pangong Tso Lake. India claims that it was an attempt by China to change the status quo. Chinese officials refute the claim by stating that India attempted to cross the LAC on 2 points in Pangong Tso and Rezan Pass.

SEPTEMBER 8, 2020

According to Indian sources, soldiers of PLA open fire near the Pangong Lake in Ladakh's Indian troops for back in retaliation as a warning following which the skirmish drawed down.

JUNE 15, 2020

An Indian colonel and 19 soldiers are killed in a "violent face off" with the Chinese troops at the Galwan Valley. Indian army sources say the soldiers have not been shot but killed in a physical fight that involved stones and batons. A meeting is held at Major General level of both armies. The meeting is claimed to have brought the situation on the ground under control.

JUNE 21, 2020

The Indian Army changes its rules of engagement on the LAC by enacting a fast core mandate to order troops to use firearms under extraordinary conditions India gives emergency financial powers of up to Rs 1bn for procurement process to the three defense services to acquire weapons.

JULY 3, 2020

India deploys its Special Forces units in Ladakh. Indian Ministry of Defence signs for the acquisition of 33 Russian fighter jets and upgrades to 59 others worth $2.4bn.

JULY 7, 2020

China withdraws its troops by 2 km in the disputed Hot Springs and Gokrar area of Ladakh. It also begins pulling back in Gogra and Hot Springs. India also announces an equal distance in all these areas. Buffer zones are being created in this region.

SEPTEMBER 7, 2020

Chinese PLA issues a statement blaming India and states that on September 7, Indian army illegally crossed the line and entered Dungrti Hunter, the western section of the Sino-Indian border.

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INDO-CHINA DISPUTE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

Imtiaz Gul

ABSTRACT

A territorial dispute in eastern Ladakh between India and China gave the West another baton in hand to wave at Beijing. It also brought to the fore the intense geopolitical nature of this multi-lateral war of competing interests in Asia, i.e. Indo-US + Allies attempting to contain the expanding China-Pakistan-Russian influence in the region. Most observers in South Asia invariably viewed the Galwan stand in the context of what India had done to the IIOJK; abrogation of the Article 370 on August 5, and the eventual forcible annexation of IIOJK into Indian Territory – a blatant subversion of the UN Security Council resolutions. Current geopolitical conversations make it abundantly clear that both India and Pakistan occupy considerably important positions in the security and commercial calculus of both the United States and China respectively. Pakistan's alliance with China creates 'perception' of superiority – a psychological edge – over India. Indian foreign policy experts are asking New Delhi to take Islamabad seriously, especially with the growing Chinese economic interests in Pakistan. These interests, created through development and infrastructure investments, also mean that China is striving for a stable and prosperous South Asia, with or without India. It is therefore imperative to weigh the possible impact of big power rivalries on a country like Pakistan.

Keywords: Territorial Dispute, Eastern Ladakh, Geopolitical, Big Power Rivalries, Multi-Lateral War, IIOJK, Abrogation of the Article 370, Infrastructure Investments.

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Current geopolitical conversations make it abundantly clear that both India and Pakistan occupy considerably important positions in the security and commercial Calculus of both the United States and China respectively

Context

The year 2020 will be remembered for long in modern history as a painful intervention by nature, i.e. COVID-19 pandemic that rampaged across the globe for months - infecting millions and killing over a million. But history will remember it also for one of the most apparent geopolitical conflicts between an ascendant China and an increasingly inward-looking US-led West, marked by unprecedented US punitive measures against China, including higher tariffs, legal actions (that went in force on September 15) against Huawei and TikTok – both symbolic of China's phenomenal economic rise.

But Trump's haughty clampdown on Chinese exports into the US, drew the strongest ever rebuke even by a World Trade Organisation (WTO) panel which declared tariffs on $200bn worth of Chinese goods as "illegal". This was massive vindication for Beijing, even if the United States has all but incapacitated the WTO's ability to hand down a final binding verdict.

The decision marked the first time that Geneva-based trade body ruled against a series of high-profile tariffs that President Donald Trump's Government has imposed on a number of countries - allies and rivals alike.[1]

Much before that, as China battled the consequences of COVID-19, President Trump had upped the ante on Beijing, joined in the chorus also by its key allies UK, Germany and France to denigrate it by referring to the pandemic as the "Wuhan or China virus." As if it were not enough, a territorial dispute in eastern Ladakh between India and China gave the West another baton in hand to wave at Beijing. This also brought to the fore the intense geopolitical nature of this multi-lateral war of competing interests in Asia, i.e. Indo-US + Allies attempting to contain the expanding China-Pakistan-Russian influence in the region.

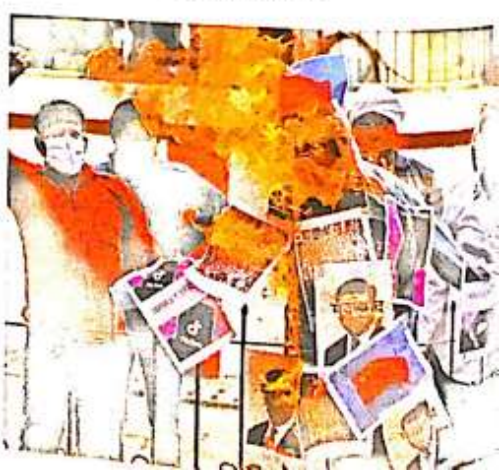
All New Delhi could do as retaliation was banning a few Chinese mobile phone apps; hoping that this measure would somewhat subdue the BJP followers calling for a full-blown war with China

Most observers in South Asia invariably viewed the Galwan stand-off at one of the few highest battlegrounds – over 3000 metres – in the context of what India had done to Kashmir under its control; abrogation of the Article 370 on August 5, and the eventual forcible annexation of Kashmir into Indian territory – a brazen subversion of the UN Security Council resolutions. And current geopolitical conversations make it abundantly clear that both India and Pakistan occupy considerably important positions in the security and commercial calculus of both the United States and China respectively.

It is therefore imperative to weigh the possible impact of big power rivalries on a country like Pakistan.

Ladakh – Testing Nerves

Until the Chinese and Indian militaries locked horns in the Galwan Valley on the border of Ladakh region in mid-June (2020), nobody had imagined the ferocity that the former displayed during physical bouts. They left about 20 Indian troops dead. It was also reported that during the confrontation, an Indian commanding officer was pushed into the river, which led to hundreds of troops from both sides fighting with clubs and stones. The fatal conflict, India's first with China since 1975, heightened tensions in the region and raised the alarm across the globe.



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Modi had agreed "to designate 2020 as the China-India year of cultural and people-to-people exchanges, and hold 70 events next year to mark the 70th anniversary of the China-India diplomatic relations"

This encounter was different from other significant incidents, especially those involving Pakistan and India; the loss of nearly 20 soldiers forced the Indian government into a "face-saving" mode, with even its uber-nationalist media calling for restraint, instead of war-drumming. All of a sudden, they realised that China had managed to dent the Indian army's image by inflicting heavy damage on it. All New Delhi could do as retaliation was banning a few Chinese mobile phone apps; hoping that this measure would somewhat subdue the BJP followers calling for a full-blown war with China.

The standoff at Ladakh continued even after several rounds of diplomatic and military level talks; a partial disengagement commenced, first after Special Representatives (SRs) Ajit Doval and Wang Yi, tasked to hammer out a solution to the boundary dispute, spoke on July 5[2] and then in September, Chinese State Councillor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi, and Indian Foreign Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar met on the sidelines of a Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) foreign ministers' meeting in Moscow.

"The two Foreign Ministers agreed that the current situation in the border areas is not in the interest of either side. They agreed therefore, that the border troops of both sides should continue their dialogue, quickly disengage, maintain proper distance and ease tensions," the September statement said.[3]

Commenting on the statement, daily the Hindu claimed the PLA to be in control of 1,000 square km of Indian territory in Ladakh.

"For a perspective on the amount of land India has traded for peace, here's a comparative figure – the total area of the national capital Delhi is 1,464 square km. The fact that the PLA will not vacate territories occupied through multi-pronged deep intrusions in eastern Ladakh since May, has been accepted by India," said the paper as quoted by The Wire.[4]

The Wire also pointed out the absence of Indian narrative that the PLA restore the status quo ante – i.e. the April positions – in the joint statement. Also missing is the reference point of the 1993 Line of Actual Control (LAC), it said.

Conspicuous during the entire crisis was the Chinese restraint and its continued emphasis on dialogue. Hu Xijin, the editor of Chinese daily Global Times, claimed that the Chinese military decided against publishing the casualty numbers to prevent unnecessary speculation on the issue. "My understanding is the Chinese side doesn't want people of the two countries to compare the casualties (sic) number so to avoid stoking public mood. This is goodwill from Beijing", wrote Xijin on his twitter handle.

Sino-India Relations in Reverse Gear

India's brazen Kashmir annexation and the eastern Ladakh military encounters were, nevertheless, not without diplomatic reversals.

During his October 2019 informal meeting with Chinese President Xi in the southern Indian city of Chennai, Modi had agreed "to designate 2020 as the China-India year of cultural and people-to-people exchanges, and hold 70 events next year to mark the 70th anniversary of the China-India diplomatic relations".[5] Modi and Xi also agreed that the "70th anniversary of the establishment of India-China relations in 2020 would be fully utilised to deepen exchanges at all levels including between their respective legislatures, political parties, cultural and youth organisations and militaries".[6]

With the simmering conflict in eastern Ladakh, also preceded by the debilitating COVID-19 pandemic, all the vows between Modi and Xi hit a dead end, undoing years of carefully calibrated steps President Xi had taken to engage India in the larger interest of the region.

PM Modi's "aggressive" foreign policy posturing that began with an incalcitrant attitude toward Pakistan since March 2016, when Pakistan

"We can't divorce the Ladakh crisis from the Kashmir dispute. So long as the LAC (Line of Actual Control between India and China) is tense – and it's likely to be tense for the foreseeable future – the LOC is bound to get hotter"

Michael Kugelman

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caught the Indian spy Kulboshan Jadhav, a serving Indian naval officer, who carried a passport with the Muslim name Hussein Mubarik Patel.

The February 26 aerial incursion in the name of "surgical strikes at training camps" in Pakistan's north, and the downing of an Indian jet accentuated tensions further, but the August 5 occupation of Kashmir took the bilateral tensions to new levels. Meanwhile, India's arrogance also dented its ties with otherwise friendly neighbours like Nepal and Bangladesh.

Impact on Pakistan

All this had a direct bearing on Pakistan too; in terms of strategic capabilities, Indian engagement with China on the border takes New Delhi's focus away from Pakistan. This also means that reinforcements on the border with China will result in the diversion of military assets from the IIOJK. Australian scholar Dr Claude Rakisits, in this regard, writes,

"Not only will these necessary military reinforcements (in Ladakh) cost India heavily in personnel and treasure, but it also means that the diversion of these military assets will reduce India's force capability to make any military move – were it so inclined – into Pakistan's 'Azad Kashmir' and Gilgit-Baltistan. That would be good news for Pakistan".

US think-tanker and South Asia scholar Michael Kugelman also believes that India's preoccupation with China will directly impact the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan.

"We can't divorce the Ladakh crisis from the Kashmir dispute. So long as the LAC (Line of Actual Control between India and China) is tense – and it's likely to be tense for the foreseeable future – the LOC is bound to get hotter", says Michael Kugelman.

Almost every TV or print media conversation in India invariably draws attention to the Sino-Pakistan relations – which have become more vexatious for the majority of Indian politicians and intellectuals, particularly for the right-wing hardliners

Another apparent Indian anger and concern, particularly for the Indian establishment, stems from their belief that Pakistan might have shared intelligence with China before the Galwan Valley skirmish. Quoting US intelligence sources, Indian online daily The Print recently warned policymakers in New Delhi that China's 'better understanding' of Indian troop positions in the Galwan Valley proves that Islamabad had actively shared intelligence with China." In addition to that, the Indian 'disillusionment' vis-à-vis Pakistan is also evident in its media discourse; most Indian media outlets blamed the Pakistani social media users for spreading disinformation and "peddling" the Chinese narrative on eastern Ladakh.

Pakistan refrained from officially commenting on such an intelligence-sharing arrangement with China. But, even if true, such cooperation would explain the new dimension that Sino-Pak relations have assumed under CPEC. Nor would such interaction be unusual for two close strategic allies.

Boon for Pakistan?

Pakistan's close alliance with its 'all-weather' friend China implies that 'experts' in India would bring Pakistan into the discourse, at times drawing on flimsy arguments. Almost every TV or print media conversation in India invariably draws attention to the Sino-Pakistan relations – which have become more vexatious for the majority of Indian politicians and intellectuals, particularly for the right-wing hardliners. They tend to often denigrate the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) – a flagship of China's cross-border Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

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The launch of the September 11 Intra-Afghan negotiations at Doha, top officials from the US, UK, Norway and China showered praise on the Pakistani leadership's role in making the dialogue happen

Cheap and long-term loans and balance of payment support ($ 8.5 bn) with a grace repayment period of up to 25 years, and over $ 25 billion investments, which have also ended Pakistan's energy crisis, indeed testify the importance that Beijing accords to Islamabad.

"If Pakistan is in difficulty, we will never pressurise our most trusted friend to repay the loans which have a repayment period of up to 25 years and are less than six per cent of Pakistan's external debt," former ambassador Yao Jing told the author, days before he left Islamabad after completing his three-year tenure.

A $ 6.8 bn railway project to upgrade over 1800 km long stretch between Karachi and Peshawar, and new motorways as part of CPEC are some other examples of the Chinese keenness to invest in and help Pakistan. A $ 1.0 bn balance of payments support loan in July after the country retired a loan worth the same amount to Saudi Arabia also underscored new dynamics in the bilateral relations.

Pakistan's Isolation is Over

This multi-faceted Chinese support also helped flatten attempts by the Modi government to internationally isolate Pakistan; on the contrary, as was evident at the launch of the September 11 Intra-Afghan negotiations at Doha, top officials from the US, UK, Norway and China showered praise on the Pakistani leadership's role in making the dialogue happen.

Zalmay Khalilzad, President Trump's point-man for the Afghan peace process, specially flew to Islamabad to express his government's gratitude.

"Ambassador Khalilzad expressed appreciation on behalf of the United States, especially the important role that Prime Minister Imran Khan and General Bajwa played in facilitating the start of the Afghanistan Peace Negotiations in Doha on September 12 and stressed the need for ongoing regional and international support for this historic opportunity for peace," according to a press release by the US Embassy.[10]

Beyond doubt, the CPEC partnership instilled a new confidence in a country that until 2015 appeared battered, politically demoralised, internationally isolated and economically struggling.

But since then the events underscore the emergence of a different image of Pakistan, particularly personified by Prime Minister Imran Khan and the Army Chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa, since 2018. Both have moved in synch on most foreign policy issues – talking to their American, Chinese and Arab interlocutors with the same tongue.

This also meant the rehabilitation of Pakistan on the geopolitical map, enjoying the trust of both - the sole superpower USA and China, the direct challenger to the US hegemony of the globe. In fact, special messages by the Chinese and the US ambassadors on August 14, Pakistan's Independence Day, also exemplified the attempts both by Washington and Beijing to endear Islamabad.

In his video message on occasion, the then U.S. Ambassador Paul Jones said America was "proud to partner with Pakistan because when Pakistan thrives, the world is a better and safer place."

Yao Jing, the Chinese envoy, offered even a stronger message, "I use this opportunity to present my best wishes to the whole Pakistan nation on your Independence Day. My best wishes to our brotherly nation of Pakistan. May Pakistan enjoy peace and prosperity".

Song Tao, the head of the International Department of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, went a step further during a Pakistan-China webinar with Pakistani politicians.

"We can give up gold but not our friendship with Pakistan",[11] Tao said, pleasantly surprising all the

Several Indian military strategists are meanwhile wary of PM Modi's aggressive posturing vis-à-vis some neighbours, which they believe has also exposed their military's limitations, particularly in eastern Ladakh

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Pakistan's alliance with China also creates a 'perception' superiority – psychological edge – over India

online participants with his unusual characterisation of relations with Pakistan, which Chinese officials believe may soon become a regional hub for trade and vast connectivity once projects under CPEC mature and the free industrial zone at Gwadar becomes operational.

Several Indian military strategists are meanwhile wary of PM Modi's aggressive posturing vis-à-vis some neighbours, which they believe has also exposed their military's limitations, particularly in eastern Ladakh.

Past encounters with China and Pakistan notwithstanding, the almost simultaneous heating up of both the Line of Control (with Pakistan) and the Line of Actual Control (with China) at the same time, triggered fears that both China and Pakistan might "gang up" on India at a time with the coronavirus pandemic is ravaging vast swathes of the country.

"New Delhi is clearly under great pressure, whether from COVID-19, along the Line of Control in Kashmir or from China," said Ian Hall, professor of international relations at Griffiths University Australia, who expresses similar concerns for India.[12] However, this situation also creates a dangerous predicament for Pakistan. To prove to his supporters that "India is still strong", Modi might engage in another (mis)adventure against Pakistan.

Mahmud Durrani, retired General and Pakistan's former national security advisor believes that "China is obviously a major embarrassment for India... due to China's strength, it cannot attack China and throw them out." He thinks that "the fallout of that can be that to prove their strength and muscles, they are going to do something with Pakistan — the smaller partner of China".[13]

However, following the embarrassment of the Balakot "surgical strike" fiasco (Febraury 2019), which resulted in the capture of its pilot Abhinandan, New Delhi would now think twice before engaging Pakistan. Moreover, even Indian defence and air force experts have openly admitted that the Pakistan Air Force (PAF), even with a smaller budget and resources, is strategically far superior to the Indian Air Force (IAF).

A report in The Print argues that "Pakistan is armed with better fighter planes, Beyond Visual Range (BVR) air-to-air missiles like AMRAAMs and backed by state-of-the-art SAAB airborne warning and control systems (AWACS)", which leaves the IAF wanting in many places."[14]

Besides, Pakistan's alliance with China also creates a 'perception' superiority – psychological edge- over India. Some Indian foreign policy experts are asking New Delhi to take Islamabad seriously, especially with the growing Chinese economic interests in Pakistan. These interests, created through development and infrastructure investments, also mean that China is striving for a stable and prosperous South Asia, with or without India. It, therefore, comes as no surprise that the recent spate of terrorism in Pakistan has shifted from the Afghan border in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to Balochistan; the centre of CPEC projects including the all-important Gwadar port.

In June this year, when terrorists belonging to the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) attacked the Pakistan Stock Exchange, Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan, while speaking in the Parliament, made it clear that terrorist groups based in Balochistan were allegedly backed by India.

Previously in 2018, the BLA also took responsibility for an attack on the Chinese consulate in Karachi as well as the storming of the Pearl Continental Hotel at Gwadar in May 2019.

What else would be the motive of these groups, officials wonder when linking terror groups with India? "No well-meaning Baloch would want to destabilise the province, drive Chinese away and perpetuate the cycle of poverty and backwardness of the province," argued a

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"No well-meaning Baloch would want to destabilise the province, drive Chinese away and perpetuate the cycle of poverty and backwardness of the province"

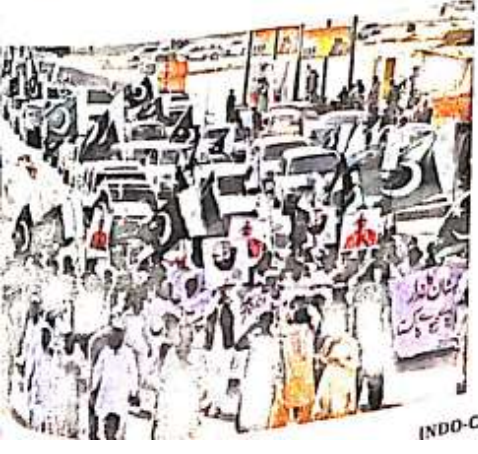
Baloch teacher in Gwadar, requesting not to be named, when trying to explain the rationale of terrorism in the region.

PM Khan was much forthright in his diagnosis. "There is no doubt that India is behind the attacks",[15] said in his address to the Parliament in August 2020.

These attacks indicate that India might, in the future, try to use such proxy elements to further hurt the CPEC and cause fissures in the Pak-China friendship; this flows not only from publicly stated opposition to CPEC by various US and Indian officials and experts but also from the latter's objections to some CPEC projects being located in Gilgit Baltistan, a territory it claims is part of the disputed larger Kashmir region. But Beijing has snubbed these objections, saying it will undertake projects in places of Pakistan's choice.

The imminent rise of China provides an automatic pretext to the US and India to close ranks and deepen their strategic partnership as a bulwark against expanding Chinese footprint across the globe.

The US strategy towards Asia vis-à-vis India took a new turn when the US President Donald Trump embraced a new term, i.e. Indo-Pacific. When asked for an explanation on this term, US policymakers contend



The US strategy towards Asia vis-à-vis India took a new turn when the US President Donald Trump embraced a new term, i.e. Indo-Pacific

that "we talk about 'Indo-Pacific' in part because that phrase captures the importance of India's rise".[16]

More recently, the US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo called his Indian counterpart Subrahmanyam Jaishankar and reiterated "the strength of the United States-India relationship to advance peace, prosperity, and security in the Indo-Pacific and around the globe".[17] This renewed partnership also includes Japan and Australia – known as the Quad – and other smaller regional states. Even though the anti-China US alliance in the Indo-Pacific does not explicitly intend to hurt Pakistan, its focus on China does create strategic implications for Islamabad and place a heavy responsibility on Pakistani leaders to carefully handle Beijing as a long-time trusted friend of the country, which clearly desires a politically stable and economically developing friend on the Arabian Sea.

PM Khan articulated the importance of this linter-twined relationship like no other Pakistani leader;

"Pakistan's future is tied to China. We should be clear on this that our country's [economic] development has now been intertwined with China," Khan said in interviews with the Doha-based Al-Jazeera TV and Dunya News TV in August. "We are fortunate that we have a friend that stood by us through thick and thin. None of our other friends have stood by us like China politically supported and defended us on all fronts," Khan told Dunya TV.[18]

The recent negotiations between Iran and China for economic and defence cooperation, with billions of dollars, added to the Indian worries because it had hedged all its bets on the Chabahar Port as shorter access via the Arabian Sea.

A potential China-Iran cooperation also benefits Pakistan, as it might help rub-off occasional frictions between Islamabad and Tehran, often rooted in instances of terrorism in Iranian border provinces being perpetrated by radical Sunni groups, which allegedly operate out of Balochistan's border towns. If both Tehran and Islamabad went by the Chinese advice, they could be in a more sustainable cooperative mode against all shades of terrorists than the occasional acrimonious outbursts.

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With Chinese investments and strengthened partnership with Iran, Islamabad can now look up to Beijing to mediate in case of a future border conflict with Tehran

Finally, the China-Iran deal appears to be backed by the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps, who have often engaged in skirmishes with the Pakistani military. With Chinese investments and strengthened partnership with Iran, Islamabad can now look up to Beijing to mediate in case of a future border conflict with Tehran.

One may therefore conclude that:-

- Beijing has every now and then come to Pakistan's rescue – be it financial bail-outs such as the balance of payment support, concessional loans or long-term investments in critical energy and infrastructure projects.
- The Sino-India standoff has not only shaken the Indian security establishment but also further cemented the Sino-Pakistan partnership which as a win-win model has become the subject of envy and jealousy for many.

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PAK – IRAN BILATERAL EXISTING BINDING TREATY RELATIONS – A LEGAL COMPULSION TO COOPERATE

Ahmer Bilal Soofi

ABSTRACT

Pakistan and Iran are undergoing a period of economic contraction. Economies of both countries need measures which boost economic growth and provide opportunities of employment. Pakistan has been Iran's eighth-largest trading partner. According to an estimate by Trade Development Authority of Pakistan, trade between Pakistan and Iran fell to $432 million in 2010-11 from $1.32 billion in 2008-09, after western-powers imposed sanctions on Tehran aimed at halting a nuclear program they suspected was aimed at developing a nuclear bomb. The potential for trade between the two countries, however, is estimated to be well beyond the current levels. Efforts should be made by both countries to optimize their economic and trade relations. Mention has been made of a number of important agreements, treaties and MoUs that relate to cooperation in economic, trade and commerce fields. These legal instruments provide the requisite framework needed to expand mutual cooperation.

Keywords: Pakistan, Iran, Economy, Trade, Bilateral, Treaties, MoUs, Legal Instruments, Sanctions and Mutual Cooperation.

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Iran played an important role in the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965, providing Pakistan with nurses, medical supplies, and a gift of 5,000 tons of petroleum

Pakistan and Iran, both, as presently exist, are part of ancient civilizations dating back to thousands of years. Iran's history dates back to the formation of the Elamite kingdoms in the fourth millennium BCE, while Pakistan has been part of Indus Valley civilization which dates back also to 4th millennium BCE. The present day Iran consolidated its boundaries in the 19th century while Pakistan obtained independence in 1947 as a result of withdrawal by the British.

Iran was one of the very first countries recognizing the sovereign state of Pakistan. Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the then Monarch of Iran, was the first head of state to visit Pakistan officially in February 1950. Immediately after the visit of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the relations between Pakistan and Iran were further cemented by an Agreement of Friendship executed between the two countries in May 1950. Pakistan and Iran share strong historical, religious, cultural, and linguistic bonds. The people to people contact between the Pakistani and Iranian community is unique. Religion, Sufism, and Persian language all have a deep imprint on both sides of the borders.

Historical Overview of Relations

During the cold war era, Pakistan and Iran were natural allies as both of them were part of the arrangements forged by SEATO and CENTO treaty arrangements. It was during the cold war era that Organization for Regional Cooperation and Development (RCD), a multi governmental organization, comprising Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, was established in 1964 to allow socio-economic development of the member states. In 1979, this organization was dissolved. It was replaced by Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in 1985, which is operational since then.

Iran played an important role in the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965, providing Pakistan with nurses, medical supplies, and a gift of 5,000 tons of petroleum. Iran also indicated that it was considering an embargo on oil supplies to India for the duration of the armed conflict. After the suspension of American military aid to Pakistan during the war, Iran was reported to have purchased F-86 Sabrejet fighter planes from West Germany, and subsequently delivered them to Pakistan. Iran again played a vital role for Pakistan in the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971, this time supplying military equipment as well as diplomatic support against India. The Shah of Iran described the Indian attack as blatant aggression and interference in Pakistan's internal affairs.[1]

The relations established during cold war era were disrupted when government of Raza Shah Pahelvi was overthrown during an islamic revolution in 1979 and a Shia government was established which was staunchly Anti-American. Though in 1979, Pakistan was one of the first countries in the world to recognize the new revolutionary regime in Iran, nonetheless, relations between Pakistan and Iran deteriorated after 1979 during the Afghan resistance against the soviet occupying forces and then during Taliban led battles to form a government in Afghanistan after departure of UN forces.[2] However, both countries continued to cooperate wherever possible and formed alliances in a number of areas of mutual interest.

Iran's stance on the position taken by Pakistan on the issue of the state of Jammu and Kashmir has mostly been cooperative and positive, and Iran has expressed its sympathy for the right of self-determination for the peoples of Jammu and Kashmir.[3] Iran has also unequivocally supported the human rights of the Kashmiri people after annexation of IIOJK by India in 2019. On its part, Pakistan has supported Iran's viewpoint on the issue of its nuclear energy program, maintaining that Iran had the right to develop its nuclear energy program within the ambit of NPT.[4] In March 2020, Prime Minister Imran Khan called on the international community to remove sanctions on Iran, enabling it to better deal with the novel coronavirus crisis.

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Bilateral Trade volume between the two countries stood at $369 million as of 2018. The potential for trade between the two countries, however, is estimated at $10 billion

A critical threat to Pak-Iran relations is the insurgency and cross border criminal activities of local elements in their respective regions of Balochistan-Sistan. The avowed aim of the Baloch insurgency against the central governments in Iran and Pakistan is to obtain more regional autonomy and ultimately to break away from the central governments and unify the Baloch territories now divided between two countries.[8] The management of this problem by central governments of Iran and Pakistan has created various problems including cross border terrorism and crimes. Most militant groups in Balochistan are based on tribal connections. These tribes have tribal patterns of authority and obligations and a tradition of helping and harboring members of allied tribes. The two countries have a shared interest in quelling Baloch secessionist aspirations but if Pakistan and Iran fail to reach understandings and effective cooperation their relationship could end up in crisis.

Pakistan has been Iran's eighth-largest trading partner and major exports of Pakistan to Iran have included rice, meat, fruits, textiles, and paper. Whereas, Iran's major exports to Pakistan have included oil, minerals, steel, organic chemicals, and plastic. According to an estimate by Trade Development Authority of Pakistan, trade between Pakistan and Iran fell to $432 million in 2010-11 from $1.32 billion in 2008-09, after western powers imposed sanctions on Tehran aimed at halting a nuclear program they suspected was aimed at developing a nuclear bomb.

Iran and Pakistan's relations had their high and low periods due mainly to the changing geo-political circumstances and alliances

Bilateral trade volume between the two countries stood at $369 million as of 2018. The potential for trade between the two countries, however, is estimated at $10 billion. Iran sells 1,000 megawatts of electricity to Pakistan and plans to increase this up to 3,000 megawatts to cover some 4,000 megawatts of a shortfall in the country. Due to the outbreak of the corona virus in Iran, trade activities between Islamabad and Tehran had been temporarily suspended in February, 2020 because of the border closure.

It will be evident from above that Iran and Pakistan's relations had their high and low periods due mainly to the changing geo-political circumstances and alliances. However, there still remain a number of areas where the prospects of cooperation are yet to be optimized.

Available Avenues of Relationship

It is opined that three avenues of mutual cooperation and joint collaboration deserve a closer look.

Implementation of Treaties, Agreements & Binding International Legal Instruments

Pakistan and Iran during the course of last seventy years have entered into scores of treaties, agreements and MoUs to promote defense, economic and cultural relations. Out of the aforesaid pacts, several have now only historical importance yet the remaining others offer great scope for strengthening the ties between the two countries. Some of the recent pacts may be mentioned as below:

- Pakistan signed a Preferential Trade Agreement with Islamic Republic of Iran on 4 March 2004. As mutually agreed, the agreement became operational from 1 September 2006. Under the Agreement, Pakistan offered concessions to Iran on 338 tariff lines, whereas, Iran gave concessions on 309 tariff lines.
- Customs Mutual Assistance Agreement was signed between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on 4 March 2004. Under the said Agreement, it was decided to finalize the MOU on Electronic Data Exchange between Pakistan Customs and Iran Customs. It was also

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Both countries have shared-obligations in the task of anti-terrorism and related activities under various binding resolutions passed by the UNSC

emphasized to exchange values/documents on real time basis in case of the goods to be imported/exported and to roll-out a fully automated clearance system, having advance information, about goods/passengers at Taftan-Mirjaveh Border stations and at other border stations in a phased manner. Pursuant to the Customs Mutual Assistance Agreement, Pakistan and Iran in February 2020 signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for electronic data exchange between the customs authorities of the two countries on real time basis to control under and over-invoicing of goods.

- In 2016, following MoUs were signed:-
  - MoU to enhance cooperation between Pakistan's Foreign Service Academy and Iran's School of International Relations.
  - MoU for cooperation and information exchange between the Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan and the Central Insurance of Iran.
  - MoU on Five Year Strategic Trade Cooperation Plan: This is the key agreement among the 6 MoUs signed. It sets an ambitious target of 5 billion US dollars per annum bilateral trade in 5 years from the current 250 million US dollars.
  - MoU for cooperation on health research, training, medicine and medical technology.
  - MoU on extending cooperation between the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the Chamber of Commerce, Industries, Mines and Agriculture of Iran.
  - MoU on cooperation between the Institute for Political and International Studies of Iran and Karachi Council on Foreign Relations (KCFR) of Pakistan.
- The two sides signed a Memorandum of Understanding on 27 December 2018 for International transport and transit between Iran and Pakistan which can connect East Asia to Europe via roads. Tehran and Islamabad agreed to increase transportation between the two countries in a bid to boost bilateral trade.
- In September 2020, the government of Pakistan decided to establish 18 markets along Pak-Afghan and Pak-Iran borders with a view to boosting trade with the two countries and curbing the menace of smuggling.

Both countries have shared-obligations in the task of anti-terrorism and related activities under various binding resolutions passed by the UNSC.

- UNSC 1373/2001 which was unanimously passed on 28 September 2001 under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, is a counter terrorism measure obliging all member countries to take certain actions against terrorists. The resolution aims to hinder terrorist groups in various ways. It recalls provisions from resolutions 1189 (1998), 1269 (1999) and 1368 (2001) concerning terrorism. UN member states are encouraged to share their intelligence on terrorist groups in order to assist in combating international terrorism. The resolution also calls on all states to adjust their national laws so that they can ratify all of the existing international conventions on terrorism. It states that all states "should also ensure that terrorist acts are established as serious criminal offences in domestic laws and regulations and that the seriousness of such acts is duly reflected in sentences served." The resolution establishes the Security Council's Counter Terrorism Committee to monitor state compliance with its provisions. It also aims at restricting immigration law, stating that "before granting refugee status, all states should take appropriate measures to ensure that the asylum seekers had not planned, facilitated or participated in terrorist acts".
- UNSC 1540/2004 which is also dubbed as "Non-Proliferation" resolution was passed under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and concerns

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UNSC 2482/2019 was unanimously adopted by the UN Security Council in July 2019 once again highlighting vital connection between transnational organized crime and terrorism activities/financing

obligation of the members to make all out efforts to take legal and regulatory measures against proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) which include chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. The three main obligations created by the resolution are: (1) To "refrain from providing any form of support to non-State actors that attempt to develop, acquire, manufacture, possess, transport, transfer or use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and their means of delivery" (Article 1). (2) To "adopt and enforce appropriate effective laws which prohibit any non-State actor to manufacture, acquire, possess, develop, transport, transfer or use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and their means of delivery" (Article 2). (3) To "take and enforce effective measures to establish domestic controls to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons and their means of delivery" (Article 3). The resolution emphasizes the continuing importance of non-proliferation and disarmament agreements, and provides for the creation of a committee (the 1540 Committee) to oversee the implementation of the resolution. States are called upon to provide reports to the 1540 Committee on their current situation and future plans vis-à-vis the obligations laid out in the resolution within six months of the adoption of the resolution. Articles 8 and 9 of the resolution call upon all members to cooperate with each other in order to implement the aims of the resolution.

- UNSC 2462/2019 is a comprehensive resolution which was passed unanimously under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and concerns obligation of the members to combat and criminalize financing of terrorists and their activities. It can be enforced through UN sanctions. It refers to and reaffirms earlier passed resolution 1373/2001 and vide paragraphs 28 and 29 of the resolution, urges member states to cooperate with each other for the implementation of the measures prescribed by the resolution. The resolution urges all countries to implement the FATF recommendations, including the standards to assess the specific terrorist financing risks they face.

- UNSC 2482/2019 was unanimously adopted by the UN Security Council in July 2019, once again highlighting vital connection between transnational organized crime and terrorism activities/financing. This topic has been debated regularly in the UNSC since the resolution 1373/2001, passed a month after 9/11, that recognized a 'close connection between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, money-laundering, illegal arms-trafficking, and illegal movement of nuclear, chemical, biological and other potentially deadly materials'. Clause 1 of the resolution calls upon Member States to enhance coordination of efforts at all levels in order to strengthen a global response to linkages between international terrorism and organized crime, whether domestic or transnational, which constitute a serious challenge and a threat to international security. Clause 4 of the resolution calls upon Member States to strengthen their efforts as well as international and regional cooperation to counter the threat to the international community posed by the illicit cultivation, production, trafficking, and consumption of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, which can significantly contribute to the financial resources of terrorist groups, and to act in accordance with the principle of common and shared responsibility in addressing and countering the world drug problem, including through cooperation against the trafficking in illicit drugs and precursor chemicals, also underlining the importance of border management cooperation. Clause 7 of the resolution calls upon Member States to investigate, disrupt and dismantle organized criminal networks involved in trafficking of persons in accordance with national legislation, including anti-money-laundering, anti-corruption and anti-bribery laws and, where appropriate, counter-terrorism laws.

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United Nations and European Union have also applied some sanctions against Iran, however, the fact remains that most unprecedented and extensive sanctions have been imposed by the United States which include sanctions on all those countries which enter into trade relations with Iran in specified areas

Effect of US Sanctions on Iran and the Way Out

The history of US sanctions against Iran dates as far back as 1979, when hostages were held at the US Embassy in Tehran. Over the years, the US government has approved other sanctions. In addition to the US government, United Nations and European Union have also applied some sanctions against Iran, however, the fact remains that most unprecedented and extensive sanctions have been imposed by the US which include sanctions on all those countries which enter into trade relations with Iran in specified areas. US sanctions inter alia are imposed under the Iran Sanctions Act of 1996 (as amended from time to time) and Countering America's Adversaries through Sanctions Act of 2017. These sanctions have adversely impacted Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline project and other trade relations.

Iran filed a legal action before the Hague-based ICJ against the United States, on 16 July 2018, mainly based on the 1955 Treaty of Amity signed between the two sides. Iranian officials said that, US re-imposition of the nuclear sanctions was a violation of the treaty. Iran also argued that the US had violated the terms of the nuclear accord (Iran and the P5+1— United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, China, and Germany—signed the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) in 2015, which came into effect in 2016. Under the deal, Iran agreed to take steps to curb its nuclear program in return for a significant easing of US, UN, and EU sanctions), endorsed by a UN Security Council resolution, by unilaterally pulling itself out of that agreement. It was urged on Iran's behalf that the IAEA had verified 12 times that Iran had abided by the terms of that agreement. At the court hearing it was also stressed that the US sanctions were blanket measures that had strangled the Iranian economy, affecting ordinary citizens in all aspects of their lives.

On 3 October 2018, the International Court of Justice issued an interim order directing as under:-

- That US in accordance with its obligations under the 1955 Treaty of Amity, Economic Relations and Consular Rights, must remove, by means of its choosing, any impediments arising from the measures announced on 8 May 2018 to the free exportation to the territory of Islamic Republic of Iran of (i) medicines and medical devices; (ii) foodstuffs and agricultural commodities; and (iii) spare parts, equipment and associated services (including warranty, maintenance, repair services and inspections) necessary for the safety of civil aviation
- That the United States of America must ensure that licenses and necessary authorizations are granted and that payments and other transfers of funds are not subject to any restriction in so far as they relate to the goods and services referred to in point (i)

There are exceptions recognized by US itself to the regime of sanctions. Article 7 of the Iran Sanctions Act 1996 provides that "The Secretary of State may, upon the request of any person, issue an advisory opinion to that person as to whether a proposed activity by that person would subject that person to sanctions under this Act. Any person who relies in good faith on such an advisory opinion which states that the proposed activity would not subject a person to such sanctions, and any person who thereafter engages in such activity, will not be made subject to such sanctions on account of such activity."

It is therefore proposed that in the areas where sanctions imposed on Iran are not operational, Pakistan and Iran can work together [illegible]

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In the areas where sanctions imposed on Iran are not operational, Pakistan and Iran can work together for economic and trade ties which are mutually beneficial to both of them

trade ties which are mutually beneficial to both of them.

Cooperation in the Area of EEZ and Territorial Waters

Section 8 of Pakistan's Territorial Waters and Maritime Zones Act, 1976, provides that:-

- Notwithstanding anything contained in any other provision of this Act:
  - The delimitation of the territorial waters between Pakistan and any other State whose coast is opposite or adjacent to that of Pakistan shall be determined by agreement between Pakistan and such State and pending such agreement and, unless any other provisional arrangements are agreed to between them, the boundary with regard to the territorial waters between Pakistan and such State shall not extend beyond the line every point of which is equidistant from the baseline from which the breadth of the territorial waters of Pakistan and of such State is measured; and the delimitation of the Contiguous Zone, the Continental Shelf, the Exclusive Economic Zone and other maritime zones between Pakistan and any other State whose coast is opposite or adjacent to that of Pakistan shall be effected by agreement in accordance with equitable principles and taking account of all relevant circumstances, and pending such agreement or a settlement, Pakistan and such State shall make provisional arrangements taking into account the said principles for delimitation of the Contiguous Zone, the Continental Shelf, the Exclusive Economic Zone and other maritime zones.
  - Pakistan – Iran maritime boundary line dividing internal waters, Territorial Seas, Contiguous Zones and Exclusive Economic Zones of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran is delimited in an agreement between the two governments signed in Tehran on 16 June 1997, which entered into force in accordance with Article 7 of the agreement on 26 July 1999. It is suggested that further cooperation in this regard in relation to issues arising from time to time must continue.

China is investing an extraordinary amount of $400 billion in Iran under Chinese Belt and Road Initiative. This deal is China's biggest commitment to any nation in the Middle East or the world

Conclusion

- China is investing an extraordinary amount of $400 billion in Iran under Chinese Belt and Road Initiative. This deal is China's biggest commitment to any nation in the Middle East or the world. The improving relations between Tehran and Beijing have the same compulsions as between Pakistan and China. Tehran has been facing grave economic challenges due to long-term sanctions from Western powers. Iran has also expressed an interest in joining the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor as part of the larger Chinese Belt and Road Initiative. China and Iran are wary of the hegemonic policies that US is increasingly employing against both China and Iran. In the unfolding regional and strategic scenario, Iran, Pakistan and China can establish strong defense and economic ties. On its part, in February 2020, Iran has informally proposed that countries like Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Russia and China have the potential to form a new alliance for better future of the region.

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Both Pakistan and Iran are undergoing a period of economic contraction. Economies of both countries need measures which boost economic growth and provide opportunities of employment

Terrorism, nuclear proliferation, terrorist financing, transnational organized crime and other related matters which are issues that are grave threats to the stability, friendly relations and economic growth of both countries

- Both Pakistan and Iran are undergoing a period of economic contraction. Economies of both countries need measures which boost economic growth and provide opportunities of employment. In order to get the desired results, both countries need to cooperate with each other on urgent and regular basis. Practically speaking, currently economic cooperation and volume of trade has fallen to a minimum. Efforts should be made by both countries to optimize their economic and trade relations. Mention has been made above of a number of important agreements, treaties and MoUs that relate to cooperation in economic, trade and commerce fields. These legal instruments provide the requisite framework needed to expand mutual cooperation.
- Iran and Pakistan are members of the United Nations and as such as responsible countries need to coordinate their efforts in order to deliver the needful as required by the UNSC resolutions passed under Chapter VII of the UN Charter (some of the resolutions mentioned above). Terrorism, nuclear proliferation, terrorist financing, transnational organized crime and other related matters which form the subject matter of the UNSC resolutions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter are issues that are grave threats to the stability, friendly relations and economic growth of both countries. In this view, both countries should mobilize their utmost efforts to combat the menaces of terrorism, nuclear proliferation, terrorist financing and transnational organized crime. In this regard, the respective institutions of both countries such as intelligence agencies, law enforcement bodies and border commissions can share information with each other. Meeting on official basis should be conducted by both countries to monitor the level and effectiveness of cooperation and further avenues of cooperation must be explored.

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KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY IN PAKISTAN

Dr Atta-ur-Rahman

ABSTRACT

Countries that are investing in education, science and technology, innovation and entrepreneurship are succeeding in developing strong Knowledge Economies, leading to inclusive and sustainable socio-economic development of the Nation. Pakistan does not need to work in isolation on the concept, and many projects could be undertaken in close partnership with China and linked to the CPEC Belt and Road program and thereby benefit from the vast human and material resources of China. Pakistan can also benefit from its demographic advantage of having some 100 million young men and women below the age of 20, whereas many other nations suffer from an ageing population and a lack of youthful manpower. To implement a Knowledge Economy in Pakistan will require visionary leadership and dynamic interaction between the universities and private enterprises capable of taking appropriate research and development concepts into commercially viable products. The focus of the article is to seek investment in quality education, improve the science and technology infra-structure, launch viable projects which utilize such emerging areas as artificial intelligence, next generation IT and biotechnology. The outcome of a sustained effort in development of Knowledge Economy would be the manufacture and export of high technology products and a reduction in the import of manufactured goods into Pakistan.

Keywords: Knowledge Economies, Socio-Economic Development, Quality Education, Leadership, Science and Technology Infra-Structure, High Technology Products, Artificial Intelligence, IT and Biotechnology

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The advanced countries have 2500-3000 scientists/engineers per million population and they form the backbone of their development process

In order to build a strong knowledge economy, Pakistan needs to rid itself of the constraints of a natural resource driven approach to socio-economic development and focus on strengthening the "triple helix" of the knowledge economy. Its three necessary key pillars are:

- Government policies directed at strengthening the knowledge and research base, enhancing manufacturing and exports of high technology products.
- Establishment of world class universities and centres of excellence in key fields.
- Promotion of private sector so that strong linkages can be established between industry and agriculture with national research institutions.

Government may promote R & D within private sector institutions through incentives. This will enhance high technology manufacturing exports from Pakistan. There are lessons to be learned from other countries. Singapore has virtually no natural resources but have focused on research and manufacturing of high technology products. The result: Singapore has astonishing high exports of over $ 450 billion annually compared to only $ 30 billion from Pakistan, a country with a population about 40 times that of Singapore.

Science Parks should be developed with interdisciplinary ethos where the best of scientists and technologists from all disciplines are attracted

Human Resource Development

School and college level education requires major reforms. Universities and Research Centers need to be strengthened by the induction of high quality Ph.D. level faculty (1 Ph.D. level faculty member for every 15 students in each university) in order to provide the quality manpower needed for development of our educational institutions, services and production industry.

The advanced countries have 2500-3000 scientists/engineers per million population and they form the backbone of their development process. Pakistan only has about 120 scientists and engineers per million population and needs to develop at least 500,000 high quality scientists/engineers over the next ten years in carefully selected fields.

We need to develop a competitive edge in the changing global scenario. World-class Centres of Excellences should therefore be created in selected priority fields so that Pakistan becomes internationally competitive. These centres should be tasked to nurture high quality talent in various fields of science and engineering and to establish linkages with industry, agriculture and health, and to tackle major national problems. Centres of Excellence should also be established in technology development and technology commercialization.

Science, Innovation and Entrepreneurship

Special emphasis should be given on the translation of new knowledge into new technological products ensuring the development of small, medium and large-sized industries in the country. Mechanisms should be introduced so that the benefits of technological growth reach the vast masses with the aim of impacting and improving the quality of life of every citizen of the country. In this context, Science Parks should be developed with interdisciplinary ethos where the best of scientists and technologists from all disciplines are attracted. "Technology foresight" exercises should be regularly carried out to assess the present and future needs of technology, the niche opportunities for Pakistan and the projected impact of such technologies on social, economic, health and environmental aspects.

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R&D institutions should therefore set up strong commercial units which can develop effective liaison with industry

It is important to develop appropriate steps to encourage innovation and entrepreneurship. This would involve a close cooperation between government departments, universities, Ministry of Science & Technology, Higher Education Commission and the private sector. While it is important to encourage basic research and new product and process development, in the short and medium term high priority should be given to acquire foreign technology and to initiate programmes of reverse engineering in order to understand and absorb such technologies, leading thereafter to adaptive research as well as domestic research and development in basic sciences.

The national defence organizations are a repository of considerable skills in instrumentation, control and advanced material handling

Promotion of Commercial Research

There is a need to develop corporate culture for scientific institutions so that their output can be utilized. R&D institutions should therefore set up strong commercial units which can develop effective liaison with industry. These units should be properly funded, managed by suitable senior level marketing personnel and given appropriate funding so that they can invest in areas of importance for commercialization and strong marketing initiatives undertaken by the institutions.

Promotion of High Technology

The proportion of hi-tech products is increasing in world trade. Pakistan's share of total exports in hi-tech products is insignificant. We have achieved competence in several state-of-the-art technologies including aerodynamics, thermal imaging, precision manufacturing, computational fluid dynamics, electric magnetic compatibility design and testing and encryption etc. These technologies need to be commercialized through public/private partnership. The national defence organizations are a repository of considerable skills in instrumentation, control and advanced material handling. Extending or converting these skills to civil use could broaden our industrial skill base considerably and would help us develop hi-tech industries.

Quality Assurance

Quality assurance is a vital aspect for industrial growth but has remained largely neglected. Rigid quality standards for testing and accreditation need to be established for each industrial sector in order to meet the challenges imposed by WTO. An internationally recognized accreditation system should be incorporated in all major laboratories in the country, so that exports of our products can be certified to meet the minimum quality criteria laid down by international buyers.

- **Scinece, Technology, Innovative and Production (STIP)**
  - Use Science, Technology, Innovation and Production (STIP) to achieve a science and technology driven Knowledge Economy - an integral element of the vision, strategy and action plan leading to a coordinated, equitable and sustained socio-economic development of Pakistan.
  - For these far-reaching recommendations to be implemented, it is necessary for the Prime Minister to lead the national effort aimed at instilling ethos for STIP so that Pakistan is able to migrate from its underdeveloped economy to a technology driven Knowledge

Inauguration of first locally produced ventilators facility

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Selected key areas should be given a high national priority in order for Pakistan to make best use of its demographic advantage

The educational systems in schools, colleges and universities should be modified to develop problem solving skills, critical thinking and innovation among students at all levels

Economy. The mandate for implementing STIP should be directed under the close supervision of the Prime Minister to ensure the successful strategic implementation of the policy.

- The national STIP policy must be approved by the Government following close consultations with all stakeholders. These stakeholders would include nominated experts from the private sector and also the opposition parties creating a national consensus.
- To ensure that the policy recommendations are action orientated, they should be strictly time bound, and include all relevant Government Ministries/institutions responsible for science, technology, innovation and production.
- All STIP action plans should be developed through regular Foresight Exercises, aligned to the Sustained Development Goals of Pakistan (SDGP) and must be integrated across all the relevant Government Ministries. An organization must be established for Technology Assessment and Forecasting Performance (TAFP). An existing organization such as the Pakistan Council for Science & Technology should provide training of personnel in the Planning Ministry on the methodology and techniques required for Foresight Exercises, according to well-established international norms.
- The STIP indicators must be monitored on a six monthly basis and correlated with the progress in the SDGP.
- World-class STIP Policy Research Institutes should be established for carrying out evidence-based policy research and science advisory functions in the area of technology and innovation policy.
- Selected key areas should be given a high national priority in order for Pakistan to make best use of its demographic advantage. These include Information Technology, Artificial Intelligence, Machine Learning, Robotics, Big Data and Internet of Things. All these topics are based on software development which is relatively low-cost to implement and can take advantage of Pakistan's large population base. Priority should be given to Technical education, high-value agriculture methodology and utilization of energy resources.

- **Education/Training for Science, Technology, Innovation & Production (STIP)**
  - Restructuring of Technological and Scientific Education and Training
    - The educational systems in schools, colleges and universities should be modified to develop problem solving skills, critical thinking and innovation among students at all levels
    - Minimum quality benchmarks should be set for College, Technical and Higher Education with a focus on adequate faculty qualifications and the linking of long term faculty appointments with regular performance evaluation.
    - Educational reforms should be introduced to ensure high quality and uniformity at all levels in the educational system.
    - To attain internationally accredited academic/research standards, use should be made of new technologies like, linkages and networks across the world, a profusion of Open Online Courses, peer-evaluation of research quality, institutional restructuring to create research facilities, revision of curricula and promotion of research. Open education should be encouraged by utilizing open knowledge sharing systems. The objective is to foster cross-sector collaboration based on simple mechanisms for interaction between the private sector and government funded university or national research institutions.
    - The access to technical and higher education should be progressively raised to 40% of the 18+ age group in the population to facilitate the migration of

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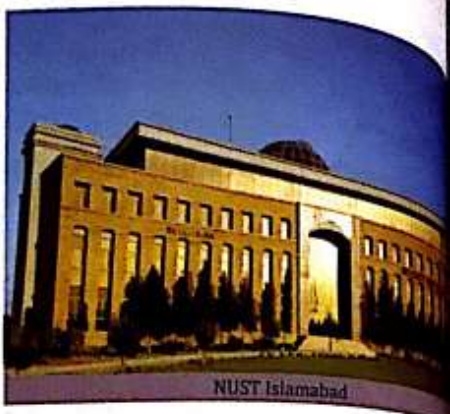
the whole nation to a Knowledge Economy.

- The incentives and investments enabling high quality technical and vocational training must be enhanced; the physical infrastructure such as laboratory equipment and ICT tools must be improved. A legislative framework needs to be formulated to ensure an integrated high quality system of school education across Pakistan. The quality of curriculum in teaching and research establishments must be raised to international standards in order to support the anticipated growth and expansion of the technological industry created by the Knowledge Economy.
- A sustained effort is needed to raise the number of high quality professional scientists, engineers and technically trained manpower to a ratio of 3,000 professionals involved in R & D per million of the population. To achieve this target at least 10,000 young men and women should be sent for training abroad annually for Ph.D. degrees, post-doctoral positions and industry-related technical training. It is vitally important to ensure that on their return they are absorbed in universities, research organizations and industry. Posts must be created in universities, research centers and industry for freshly trained returnees to Pakistan
- The initiative to establish Foreign Engineering Universities that offer their degrees to Pakistani students and have a dynamic Science & Technology Park should be revived
- The universities and research organizations should be restructured so that the brightest scientists and engineers are employed on a contract basis with attractive market-based salaries, clear achievement targets, complete autonomy at work, but with full accountability and regular performance assessment.

In parallel with technological institutions, world-class business schools should be established to train managers and develop entrepreneurial skills



NUST Islamabad

- The Tenure Track contractual system of appointments of faculty with regular international assessment should be made mandatory for all new appointments in universities. The threefold difference between the Tenure Track system and the BPS system, that has eroded with time, must be revived and maintained.
- In parallel with technological institutions, World-class business schools should be established to train managers and develop entrepreneurial skills.

- **The Diaspora of Pakistani Scientists and Technologist Across the Globe**

  - A major program should be launched to attract the diaspora of Pakistanis across the world into returning to Pakistan. They should help to establish high-quality universities and research centers in Pakistan and to support industry in Pakistan and, where possible, return to Pakistan permanently. This resource would be invaluable towards establishing a strong Knowledge Economy leading eventually to the manufacture of high technology products within Pakistan, thus eliminating imports. Eventually, Pakistan will be able to export high technology goods with the help of the Pakistanis working and living abroad.
  - Networks covering different high technology fields should be established among the diaspora abroad to come to a consensus on the best way to help

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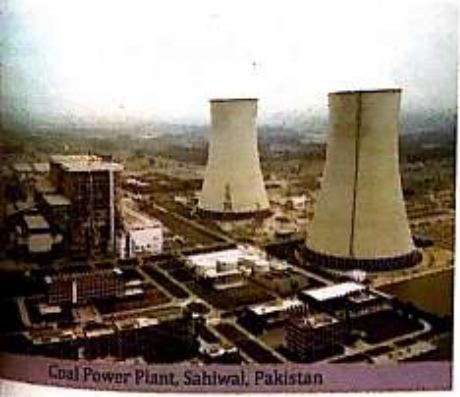
Research and development activity in the private sector should be extensively promoted by the Government through assistance with technology upgrading and manpower training

To facilitate the development of high technology manufacturing and export, the government should underwrite risk taking by private industry through introducing special insurance schemes

Pakistan and subsequently guide Pakistan's Knowledge Economy for the promotion of high technology entrepreneurship, and for the transfer of key technologies to Pakistan for the production and export of high technology products.

- **Technology Transfer and Industrial Development**
  - The implementation of STIP policies could be greatly facilitated by providing access to Venture Capital funds and by establishing innovation hubs. In parallel, legal and financial services including assistance with preparing professional business plans should be offered to encourage the formation of more start-up companies.
  - Research and development activity in the private sector should be extensively promoted by the Government through assistance with technology upgrading and manpower training.
  - The absorptive capacity of Pakistan's government and private institutions to productively use external and internal knowledge, and advanced technologies can be increased rapidly by hiring skilled personnel, such as management consultants. A key area for Pakistan is the encouragement of reverse engineering of products while building facilities for experimentation and R&D.
  - The Government must increase investment in the production capabilities of private sector institutions by facilitating the process of adaptive engineering, productivity improvements, employment regeneration and export orientation of manufacturers within Pakistan.
  - CPEC should focus on the manufacturing and export of medium and high technology products, preferably in collaboration with private sector industry in China. The aim would be to progressively enhance our export to $ 300 billion/annum over the next ten years. To facilitate this process, technical and vocational training institutions should be set up near each of the specialized industrial hubs, ensuring the availability of highly skilled technical manpower for CPEC as well as other demand-driven and collaborative operations in the industrial clusters along the corridor.
  - Businesses that are geared to the manufacture and export of high technology goods and those that explicitly address the three pillars of the SDGs should be rewarded through tax incentives, matching grants and public procurement policies.
  - The duties and tax structures should be revised so that there are no taxes on parts needed for manufacture of medium and high technology goods, and significant taxes on import of finished products, to encourage basic manufacture.
  - A revolving National Innovation Fund of at least Rs. 5 billion should be established to support indigenous technology development. Its purpose would be to facilitate the adoption, adaptation and rapid absorption of key technologies in both public and private sector institutions.



Coal Power Plant, Sahiwal, Pakistan

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Defense establishments should outsource a major portion of their requirements to universities and research centers so that manufacture and export of defense related products within Pakistan could be promoted

- To facilitate the development of high technology manufacturing and export, the government should underwrite risk taking by private industry through introducing special insurance schemes.
- Appropriate mechanisms should be established, such as the revival of the earlier approved initiative of the Ministry of Science & Technology, "Science and Technology for Economic Development", (STED) to promote research collaborations and strategic alliances among national laboratories, and between public laboratories and industry.
- To improve the quality of manufactured products from Pakistan, attempting to gain access to global markets, Pakistan should establish high-quality infrastructure for Metrology, Standards, Testing and Quality (MSTQ). Pakistan standards must mimic international standards and seek international recognition. It is essential to establish a sound quality assessment system, and to ensure the prevention of manufacturing defects in goods from Pakistan. It is also important to ensure term cost savings, the reduction of waste and increased productivity. This should be accompanied with government support for larger companies for branding of our products in international markets, to enhance exports.
- Measures should be taken to strengthen industrial research, and technology development including pilot plant level studies.
- Industrial clusters should be established, including Small to Medium Enterprise (SME) clusters, to promote innovation and growth.
- Existing links between industry, R&D institutions and universities must be strengthened and individual industrial companies must be encouraged to engage with industrial clusters for information exchange and knowledge sharing.
- New research institutions should be established in carefully selected fields bearing in mind the fourth industrial revolution that is creating disruptive technologies in many spheres of industry and education.
- Specialized institutions be set up to regulate the information flow between industry and research institutions. At the same time legal institutions related to corporate law and intellectual property should be established.
- Knowledge clusters should be set up to generate positive impacts from co-location/proximity, pooling/sharing of mutually useful knowledge, reduction in transaction costs and synergies from collaborative work throughout industry.
- Venture capital providers, business angels and micro-finance infrastructure should be created and financial institutions and markets reformed in order to encourage entrepreneurship.
- "Pioneering" status should be granted to high tech industries with the benefit of long term tax free status, thus promoting manufacturing in high-tech fields.
- Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) should be linked to knowledge transfer to Pakistan in all development projects to address the issue of global competitiveness of Pakistan's industry, now and in the future.
- Government purchases of software/ hardware should be from local manufacturers. If technology is not locally available, then local companies may partner with foreign companies, provided substantial technology transfer is incorporated.
- All development projects submitted for approval by the Planning Division should have a mandatory element of technology development, equivalent to at least 5% of the project cost, in order to ensure national self-

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The Science & Technology and Higher Education sectors have to play a critically important role in the transition towards a "Knowledge Economy"

reliance and to enhance Pakistan's export capabilities. This should be reviewed and approved by an experts committee, prior to project processing.

- A "Digitised Pakistan" should be created with Smart Cities. All Federal and Provincial government offices should be fully digitized. High-quality and affordable access to the ICT infrastructure should be ensured through the rapid expansion of broad band services in Pakistan. Pakistan must urgently acquire the best quality 5G services and it must be competitive in the region.
- NADRA should be digitally linked to FBR and other key national organisations in order to widen the tax net and raise national tax revenue.
- Measures should be taken to facilitate the entrepreneurial process from discovery to the marketplace. Courses on entrepreneurship and business plan development should be taught in colleges and universities. Topics such as risk-sharing, negotiation expertise, legal protection and institutional infrastructure must be included in the curriculum.
- Defense establishments should outsource a major portion of their requirements to universities and research centers so that manufacture and export of defense related products within Pakistan could be promoted.
- In order to enhance the capability of local companies, public funds should be used as a powerful tool to outsource projects to the private sector in areas such as E Governance, E Commerce, Artificial Intelligence and others.
- **Budget**
  - Initially at least 4% of Pakistan's GDP should be allocated to education and progressively increased to 6%. At least 30% of this allocation should be directed towards the higher education sector. Initially at least 2% of the GDP, progressively increasing to 4% of GDP, should be set aside for the STIP programs.
  - A National Research Fund amounting to 1% of GDP should be created to promote research related to technology development.

Conclusion

The challenge for Pakistan is to develop a competitive edge at the global level for sustainable development. This will be determined by the ability of our nation to create, acquire and use knowledge for socio-economic development. The Science & Technology and Higher Education sectors have to play a critically important role in the transition towards a "Knowledge Economy". It is only if we are armed with the right knowledge and skills, we can improve our living standards and provide a decent future to our children.

The "Technology Based Industrial Vision and Strategy for Socio-economic Development" is a 320 page document, prepared by leading national experts. It was approved by the Cabinet in August 2007 and provides a comprehensive plan of action for social and economic development. It contains details of projects to be undertaken and specific recommendations that need to be implemented with a sense of urgency.

Dr Atta-ur-Rehman has served as the chairman of the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (2002 – 2008) and the Minister for Science and Technology (2000 – 2002). Presently he is the Co-Chair of the UN Committee on Science, Technology and Innovation for UNESCAP

Shaheer Niazi, 17-year-old, has garnered praise for his visualisation of a phenomenon, known to physicists for decades, which can help engineers develop technology for printing, heating or biomedicine

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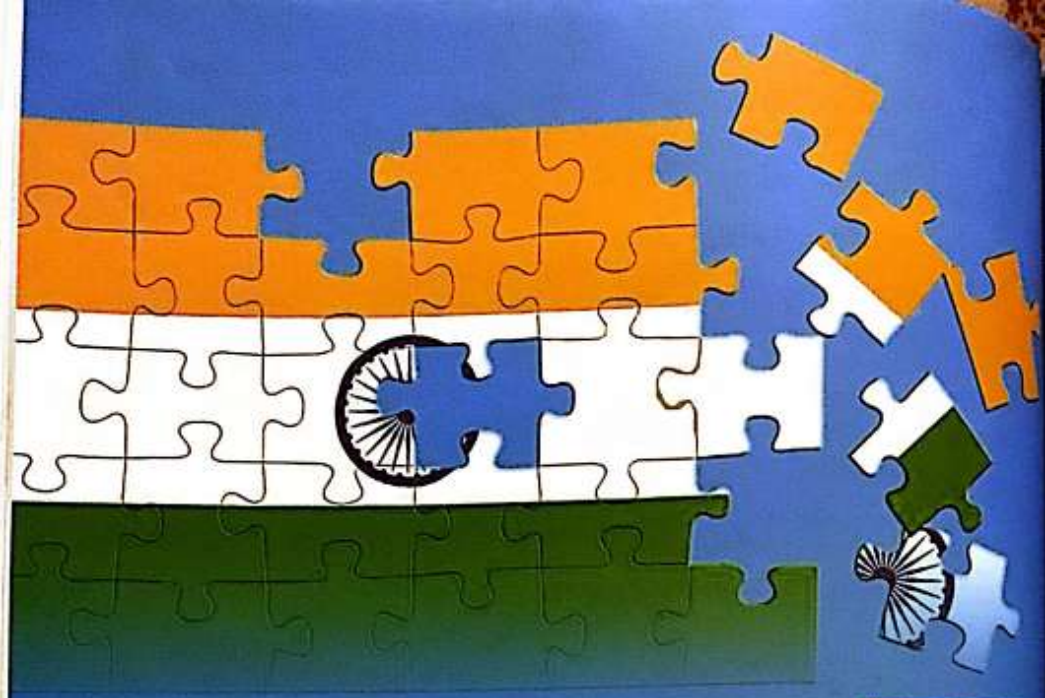

A MATTER OF TIME....

Lt Col
Fazal-i-Raziq Mirza

ABSTRACT

India ranks second in the world with regards to its population with 1.37 billion citizens while seventh largest in terms of area (3,287,263 square kilometers). A pluralistic, multi ethnic and multilingual society has grown exponentially between 1951 and 2011. However, hatred, extremism and polarization within Indian society have outpaced the economic and population growth of the country. Moreover, the visible arrogance and defiance to internationally endorsed accords by Indian politicians, especially Prime Minister Narendra Modi, speak volumes of the hidden discord. The acrimony towards her neighbours in general and Pakistan in particular, lingers to this hour, despite concerted efforts by Pakistan to co-exist peacefully. Policy makers in India need to be cognizant of the fact that their perversities may come back to haunt them soon. If they continue to pursue their malaise with the same impetus, it is expected that India would not only crumble under her own weight, but also pose a serious threat to both regional as well as global security at a colossal cost. While the world braces for the dawn of Eurasian century, India is a ticking time bomb right in the heart of this trans-regional integration. Where she could have acted as a significant conduit of geo-economic and geo-strategic convergence.

Keywords: Extremism, Polarization, Fascism, Internationally Endorsed Accords, Eurasian Century, Geo-Economic, Geo-Strategic, Global Peace and Security

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Hatred, extremism and polarization within Indian society have outpaced the economic and population growth of the country

Overview

India ranks second in the world with regards to its population (after China) with 1.37 Billion citizens while seventh largest in terms of area (3,287,263 square kilometers), comprising 28 states and 8 Union Territories. In comparison to the total landmass of the world, India comprises only 2.4 percent, whereas its population is 17.75 percent of the global population, claiming to be the most populous, secular democracy in the world. Its human diversity based on genetics is only second to the African continent, from where the modern humans arrived some 55,000 years ago. A pluralistic, multi ethnic and multilingual society has grown exponentially between 1951 and 2011. However, hatred, extremism and polarization within Indian society have outpaced the economic and population growth of the country. Although, quest for dominance is a natural phenomenon which can be pursued with a peaceful approach, India chose the hegemonic mode. Had India adopted a rational approach of exploiting its internal dynamics as well as those of her neighbours for uplift of the region, devoid of vested interests, the stature of the sub-continent in global community would have outshone other contemporary blocs. Moreover, the visible arrogance and defiance to internationally endorsed accords by Indian politicians, especially Prime Minister Narendra Modi, speak volumes of the hidden discord. The acrimony towards her neighbours in general and Pakistan in particular, lingers to this hour, despite concerted efforts by Pakistan to co-exist peacefully with its estranged neighbour.

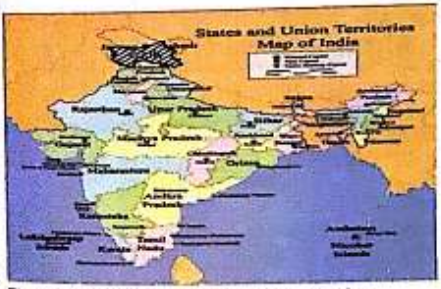

Figure 1. States and Union Territories of India

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:India_states_and_union_territories_map.svg

The British rule, leading to a chaotic partition of the Indian Sub-continent, witnessed a heightened animosity of Hindu dominated parties against the Muslims and other minorities including Dalits and lower castes within their own fold

Landscape of Pre-partition India

Under Ashoka's rule (272-232 BC), although majority of present-day India was part of Mauryan Dynasty, yet some parts still remained independent. Since the early Indian medieval age (600 to 1200 AD), contemporary India never existed as a unified state. Later, it remained a collection of geographically contiguous independent regional kingdoms, not more than large metropolitan cities of modern world, in size. Moreover, none of the rulers succeeded in expanding and consolidating their empires, with control limited to their core regions. Having a sense of protection from the north by great Himalayas and Indian Ocean in the south, the people were untroubled. However, the same natural barriers could not deter foreign invaders from continually conquering and ruling the subcontinent, arriving through the western routes. Mughal Empire, efficiently integrated these monarchies into a cohesive realm, introduced new administrative practices instead of stamping out the local societies. Despite reforms in political, social, cultural and economic fields, a discord within the Hindu community continued to brew. The British rule, leading to a chaotic partition of the Indian Sub-continent, witnessed a heightened animosity of Hindu dominated parties against the Muslims and other minorities including Dalits and lower castes within their own fold. In August 1947, this hatred translated into a bloodbath on the eve of partition, claiming approximately two million lives and rendering another fourteen million as migrants on both sides of the border, leaving the agenda of partition incomplete to this day. Since then, state of affairs in the sub-continent in particular, and South Asian region in general, has remained precarious.

Indian Hegemonic Pursuits. To establish herself as a power in the region, her energies have been focused on destabilizing her neighbours through proxies. Ensuing paras will discuss the dynamics of India's hegemonic pursuits.

Regional Undertakings

Obsessed with an expansionist design, India has been meddling in the affairs of her neighbours. Consequently, South Asian Association for Regional

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India, having faced significant reverses in direct military confrontations with Pakistan, is now resorting to encroach the social and economic spaces through disruptive means

Cooperation (SAARC) exists in a feeble form; reflecting Indian approach. Some aspects worth recapitulation are:-

- **Pakistan.** Detesting the idea of an indepen-dent Muslim state, India has concentrated her hostilities towards Pakistan primarily. In wake of an overwhelming, self-created perception as a stumbling block in her development, India has undertaken recallable direct and indirect, overt and covert efforts to force Pakistan into submission. India, having faced significant reverses in direct military confrontations with Pakistan, is now resorting to encroach the social and economic spaces through disruptive means. In contrast, as a responsible sovereign state, Pakistan's responses have always been calculated and in line with global ethics. Some Indian efforts to destabilize Pakistan are discussed below:-

  - **Dismemberment of Erstwhile East Pakistan.** India has subjected Pakistan to Hybrid Warfare since 1970s. Patronage to Mukti Bahini prior to launching a direct military assault on erstwhile East Pakistan has been proudly boasted in public by none other but Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Bahukutumbi Raman, an operative of Indian RAW mentioned in his book 'The Kaoboys & R&AW':

    "The R&AW operations were fivefold: provision of intelligence to the policymakers and the armed forces; to train the Bengali freedom fighters in clandestine training camps; to network with Bengali public servants from East Pakistan posted in West Pakistan and in Pakistan's diplomatic missions abroad and persuade them to co-operate with the freedom fighters and to help in the freedom struggle by providing intelligence; to mount a special operation in Chittagong Hill Tracts against the sanctuaries and training camps of the Naga and Mizo hostiles; and to organise a psychological warfare campaign against the Pakistani rulers by disseminating reports about the massacres of the Bengalis in Pakistan and the exodus of refugees".

  - **Network of Spies.** As if proxies were not enough, apprehension and conviction of Indian spies by Pakistan also supports the stated facts. Ravinder Kaushik (alias Nabi Ahmad Shakir) also conferred by Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi as "Black Tiger", Sarabjit Singh, Kashmir Singh and the recently exposed Indian Naval Officer, Commander Kulbhushan Sudhir Jadhav are the most notorious ones.

  - **Militant and Socio-political Proxies.** Leaving no stone unturned, India continues to patronise sub-conventional terrorist and disruptive social proxies in the garb of promoting freedom of expression and liberalism across the length and breadth of Pakistan. Some worth mentioning include:-

    - **Punjab.** The bread basket of Pakistan has been under constant Indian subversion. With an aim to launch sub-conventional attacks through sectarian clashes, India has been resorting to infiltration of agents and funding of criminals residing inside Pakistan.

    - **Balochistan.** In Balochistan, continuous Indian support to Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), Baloch Republican Army (BRA), Baloch Republican Guards (BRG) and other banned terrorist organisations working in cohort with the main proxies including Lashkar-e-Jhanghvi, Sipah-e-Sahaba, Pakistani Jandullah and partly Daesh (operating from Afghanistan)

Indian forces fought along Mukti Bahini: Modi

Admits formation of Bangladesh was of army Indian's desire; receives 1971 war award on Vijayee's behalf; confesses to conspiracy to divide Pakistan

News Desk - Monday, June 8, 2015 From Print Edition

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"My name is Commander Kulbhushan Yadav. RAW is involved in activities related to the Baloch liberation movement within Pakistan and the region around it"

have been exposed. Confession of the apprehended Indian spy Kulbhushan Yadav narrates volumes of the malaise in following words:

"My name is Commander Kulbhushan Yadav and I am the serving officer of Indian Navy...and my cover name was Hussein Mubarik Patel, which I had taken for doing some intelligence gathering for Indian agencies...I was picked up by RAW in 2013 end. Ever since I have been directing various activities in Balochistan and Karachi at the behest of RAW...in Pakistan especially in Balochistan Student Organisation. My purpose was to hold meetings with Baloch insurgents and carry out activities with their collaboration. These activities have been of criminal nature, leading to killing of or maiming of Pakistani citizens...RAW is involved in activities related to the Baloch liberation movement within Pakistan and the region around it".[2]

- **Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK).** Exploiting the geographical significance of KPK and historical linkage with Afghanistan, close collaboration of Indian RAW and other hostile intelligence agencies to sow hatred against Pakistan among Afghanis through propaganda is on record. Terrorism in KPK, especially former FATA and disruptive activities against border fencing on the basis of propagated controversy about labelling the International Border as Durand line, are the most glaring ones at present. Teheek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Jamat-ul-Ahrar (JuA), Lashkar-i-Islami (LI), Al-Qaeda in Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) and Daesh (operating from Afghanistan) are main terrorist proxies employed by India against Pakistan in KPK.
- **Sindh.** Sindh, bordering India, acts as a soft belly for Pakistan. Infiltration of trained terrorists via Sea and Land routes in rural areas of Sindh, spread of hate literature, fanning sectarian militancy sponsored by RAW, continuous propaganda against so-called Punjabi establishment aimed at creating ethnic wedge are few of the Indian efforts to destabilize Sindh.
- **Gilgit Baltistan.** An assemblage of serene and tourist destinations, Gilgit Baltistan has been equally affected by Indian proxies. Targeting of foreign tourists / mountaineers and sabotaging CPEC related develop-mental projects are worth mentioning.
- **Jammu & Kashmir.** Resorting to overt use of military as a tool of terrorism along Line of Control, India has been targeting both Pakistani soldiers and civilians indiscriminately. Continuous aggression across the Line of Control, unprovoked shelling of villages, targeting civilians and planting of Improvised Explosive Devices in the Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJK) are major threats posed by Indian state and proxies. Moreover, occupation of Siachin Glacier in 1984 by treachery, while intrusion upto Balakot and dropping of payloads in Pakistani territory by Indian Air Force are some major acts of naked aggression against sovereignty, meriting a befitting response from Pakistani Armed Forces.

Anti India Rally in Pishin, Balochistan

India has shamelessly obliterated all human values. Use of pellets guns, gang-rapes, forced disappearances and mass murders by the Indian occupation forces as weapons of war and the war crimes continue unabated

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On the other hand, annexed on the basis of a bogus Instrument of Accession in October 1947, conditions in Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJ&K) are even worse. Not with standing the incessant atrocities against Kashmiri people irrespective of age, gender or social standing by the state apparatus, India has shamelessly obliterated all human values. Use of pellets guns, gang-rapes, forced disappearances and mass murders by the Indian occupation forces as weapons of war, the war crimes continue unabated. Kashmiris are still at the mercy of their oppressors. Their affinity with Pakistan is visible from the number of Pakistani flags hoisted in the state under occupation of around 9,00,000 Indian military and paramilitary forces. Between January 1989 and January 2018, 94,644 Kashmiris have been killed (7,099 custodial killings), 11,042 women gang-raped and 7,485 blinded by pellet guns with the numbers increasing with each passing day. Revocation of Articles 370 & 35A and enforcement of Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) by Indian Parliament, aimed at altering the demographic identity of the Muslim majority state (67 percent Muslims in entire Jammu, Kashmir and Laddakh), was bound to face reprisals. Therefore, imposition of lockdown in the occupied state since 5 August 2019 continues todate with no signs of reversion, coupled with denial of basic human rights like healthcare, food and communication blackout.

The youngest pellet victim of Kashmir Hiba Nisar 20 months old

Out of six Operational Commands, resources of four, offensively postured towards Pakistan (Western, South Western, Southern, Part of Northern and Part of Eastern Commands) amounts to almost 75 percent of the Indian Army (pitched against an army nearly four times smaller in size)

- **Aggressive / Offensive Military Posturing.** Burgeoning Indian military forces (equipment and manpower) on the pretext of countering threat from China, are infact arrayed against Pakistan. Out of six Operational Commands, resources of four, offensively postured towards Pakistan (Western, South Western, Southern, Part of Northern and Part of Eastern Commands) amounts to almost 75 percent of the Indian Army (pitched against an army nearly four times smaller in size). Thus, evolution of various strategies like Cold Start Doctrine, Pro-Active Operations Strategy and recent modifications post Pulwama, point towards an Offensive-Defense instead of proclaimed Defensive-Offensive Doctrine. Figure 2 shows the orientation of Indian Army Commands.

Figure 2. Operational Commands of Indian Army

https://shdahslife.blogspot.com/2017/12/indian-army-western-command.html

Even peace promoting fields like sports and culture have not been spared by Indian state sponsored terrorism

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- **Sports and Culture.** Even peace promoting fields like sports and culture have not been spared by Indian state sponsored terrorism. Manhandling of Pakistani artistes at the hands of RSS extremists and terrorist attacks on Sri Lankan Cricket team inside Pakistan have been amply proven.[7]
- **Information Operations.** Utilising the most effective component of Hybrid Warfare, India has been manipulating policy makers in the West through a well-articulated propaganda, tarnishing the soft image of Pakistan. Recent startling revelation by British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) about a synchronized grid of 265 fake websites lobbying against Pakistan operating in 65 countries, linked to an Indian company; Srivastava Group, is an open secret.[8]

Figure 3. Indian Propaganda Websites

https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-50749764

- **Diplomatic Maneuvering.** As the main target of Indian Hybrid Warfare, diplomatic maneuvers intended at isolating Pakistan in the comity of nations commenced with the illegal occupation of Jammu and Kashmir by Indian forces in 1947. The same played a significant role in dis-memberment of erstwhile East Pakistan. Since then, regional and international forums have been utilized by India to label Pakistan as harbinger of trouble, albeit against the reality. Even until recently, despite Pakistan's endeavours to implement the actions charted by Financial Action Task Force (FATF), concerted efforts to influence its decision making have been made by India in the form of flawed reports by the India dominated Asia Pacific Group.

The deadly Easter Bombings in Sri Lanka in 2019 were also planned, supported and controlled from Indian soil

- **Sri Lanka.** Anticipating a backlash amid demand for independence by the people of Tamil Nadu, India diverted their energies toward destabilization of Sri Lanka. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) was provided with Tamil Nadu as its base of operations. Founded in 1976 with the support of RAW, the terrorist organization wreaked havoc in Sri Lanka claiming 80,000 lives in 33 years of its existence, it had a footprint in Canada and the Western World too. The deadly Easter Bombings in 2019 were also planned, supported and controlled from Indian soil. As confirmed by Hilmy Ahamed, Vice-President of the Muslim Council of Sri Lanka; "Hashim had shifted base to southern India...all his videos have been uploaded from India. He uses boats of smugglers to travel back and forth from southern India".[9]

maps4news.com

- **Nepal.** Nepal being a landlocked country, has been exploited by India to a great extent. Surrounded by India from three directions (East, West and South), Nepal too has been a focus of coercion into pliancy by India through a range of direct and indirect actions including; territorial claims on Kalapani, border blockades, months after two devastating earthquakes that killed 9,000 people, demands to amend Nepalese Constitution and backing of Madheshi movement against the new constitution.
- **Bhutan.** Another landlocked state, Bhutan, is also totally dependent on India for trade and utilities. Consequently, India exploits Bhutan for antagonising China as and when required. Charm offensive by Prime Minister Narendra Modi in June 2014 to re-assert influence in Bhutan, is a case in point.
- **Maldives.** Like other neighbours, Maldives too could not remain safe from Indian interference.

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Continuous efforts to exploit Maldives by creating political polarization, threat to take over and forced dependence on Indian Defense forces are the tools of coercion applied by India

Decision to return two helicopters to India (leased to Maldives in 2013), was a clear sign of resentment against Indian meddling in the domestic affairs of Maldives in response to declaration of emergency by then President Yameen Abdullah (2015). Perturbed with Maldivian desire to uphold its sovereignty, India retorted by denying entry to Mr Ahmed Nihan, a close aide to Mr Abdullah Yameen on 5 June 2018. Despite a scheduled medical checkup at Chennai, the dignitary was treated against human ethics by the so-called champion of democracy projected globally as "Incredible India". Continuous efforts to exploit Maldives by creating political polarization, threat to take over and forced dependence on Indian Defense forces are the tools of coercion applied by India.

- **Myanmar.** Myanmar is also under considerable influence of Indian policies. Internal conflicts in Myanmar since 1948 are globally recognized as the longest ongoing Civil War, with substantial Indian involvement. Genocide of 6,700 Rohingya Muslims including 730 children under the age of 5 years due to their desire of self-determination, support to foreign fighters in Myanmar and hosting exiled journalists to operate Mizzima News from her soil, are adequate evidences of Indian involvement in affairs of Myanmar.[4]
- **China.** India has displayed malaise towards China by supporting Tibetan rebels against China (1959-1962), ultimately resulting into Sino-India war (20 October 1962 to 21 November 1962), invitation to Tibetan government-in-exile at inauguration ceremony of newly elected Prime Minister Narendra Modi in 2014, state protocol and refuge to Dalai Lama in India. Not having learnt the lesson in 1962, India again ignited the Doklam and Laddakh crisis. Further-more, Indian aspirations to contain Chinese influence in the region have their distinct dynamics.
- **Afghanistan.** In Afghanistan, Indian involvement is focused towards destabiliza-tion of Pakistan. Beginning with the partition of subcontinent, continuous exploitation of Pashtoon sentiment in Afghanistan as well as erstwhile North West Frontier Province and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in Pakistan, fueling Pashtoonistan controversy with consequent perpetual disturbances. In order to sabotage brotherly relation between both countries, India has increased her intelligence footprint in Afghanistan since 2001, in the garb of investing more than $ 2 Billion in aid and development of infrastructure. The same intelligence operatives are employed for sponsoring terrorist and disruptive social proxies inside Pakistan (as discussed earlier).
- **Iran.** Aimed at encirclement of Pakistan from both East and West, Indian initiatives in Iran are equally intriguing. Indo-Iran Defence Pact 2003, development of Chabahar Port as part of India-Iran-Afghanistan Transit Corridor (competitors to CPEC and Gwadar Port), and presence of Indian Intelligence operators in Iran (in the garb of economic and infrastructural development) for patronizing terrorist proxies engaged in destabilization of Balochistan are worth critical review. Figure 4 below shows the alignment of India-Iran-Afghanistan transit corridor further confirming reservations of Pakistani establishment.

Figure 4. India-Iran-Afghanistan Transit Corridor

https://reconnectingasia.csis.org/analysis/entries/great-railway-game/

Domestic Environs

India's voyage on the perilous expedition of antipathy and self-destruction has impacted her indigenous population even more than the neighbouring countries. Not realizing these, the worst domestic ramifications are:-

India increased her intelligence footprint in Afghanistan since 2001, in the garb of investing more than $ 2 Billion in aid and development of infrastructure

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- **Stage Managed Terrorist Incidents.** Pursuing insane strategies of terrorism as a state policy by the Indian State have cost innocent lives, even within India. Stage managed incidents like Attack on Indian Parliament (13 December 2001), Samjhauta Express Bombing (18 February 2007), Mumbai Attacks (26 to 29 November 2008) and Suicidal Attack in Pulwama (14 February 2019) are examples of this lunacy. Shady investigations and acquittal of the four perpetrators of Samjhauta Express bombing is testament to involvement of the Indian security and intelligence agencies in such ghastly acts of terror.
- **Unabated Rise of Hindutva.** Whichever party governed in India, it contributed to the agenda of Hindutva. Although Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) deserves most of the share of this responsibility, yet Congress also played its part. Safronisation of India under Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh's (RSS) ideology of Militant Hinduism, provided impunity by BJP government, has transformed the country into an assemblage of ruthless terrorists with deep ingress into government departments as well. Consequently, strong polarisation and social fragmentation in the society is spiraling out of control. Recent riots in Delhi commenced on 23 February 2020 (during US President Donald Trump's two day visit to India) that claimed 42 lives, leaving more than 200 people injured. Transfer of Justice S Muralidhar from Delhi High Court for denouncing inability of the government in controlling these riots in the capital, by pro-CAA protestors (mostly RSS extremists), casts doubt on the identity of enablers.

Figure 5. RSS/BJP influence in India

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Indian_states_by_ruling_party.png

Safronisation of India under RSS ideology of Militant Hinduism, provided impunity by BJP government, has transformed the country into an assemblage of ruthless terrorists with deep ingress into government departments

- **Persecution of Minorities.** Instead of capitalizing on religious and ethnic diversity of the demography, India has herself not only converted them into exploitable fault lines but is also bent upon further gaping them. Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, even lower caste Hindus have been persecuted. Interestingly, Massacre of Sikhs in 1984, Gujrat Pogrom against Muslims in 2002 and intermittent victimization of Christians have usually been overlooked by the international community. Instead of a natural parent-offspring relationship between the state and citizens, the Indian State has treated its own people worse than foreign invaders. The recently enforced and widely opposed CAA has further increased the latitude of state apparatus in oppression of minorities, primarily Muslims. Figure 6 below, shows the extent of opposition to this controversial legislation across India.

Figure 6. Anti CAA Protests

https://www.guwahatiplus.com/article-detail/assam-leads-way-in-india-protesting-against-caa

- **Separatist / Secessionist Movements.** With focus on destabilizing neighbouring countries and the region, India herself is a hotbed of more than nineteen separatist/ secessionist movements. Consequent to oppression and exploitation on multiple

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fault lines, the population is up against the state for independence from repressive state policies. Figure 7 shows the impending implosion in India.

Figure 7. Separatist Movements in India

https://sri.org.pk/indian-separatist-movements-category/

- **Unprecedented Defense Expenditure.** Indian expenditure on procurement of military arsenal has increased manifolds since 1950s. Exemption of defense imports from November 2019 for next five years is yet another step to increase its military wherewithal. As the largest arms importer, 22 Apache Attack Helicopters, 200 modern Armoured Fighting Vehicles (AFVs), Beyond Visual Range Air to Air Missiles (BVRAAMs), 5 Airborne Warning And Control Systems (AWACS), 8 Landing Craft Utilities (LCUs), 2 Nuclear Ballistic Submarines, Extended Range Pinaka Guided Rockets and 22 Rafale aircrafts are the main ingredients of Indian list of procurement. All this is being done at the cost of pushing Indian population further into poverty and hunger.
- **Rise of Corporate India versus Growing Poverty.** Collusion between large corporate companies, the government and the mainstream media has transformed the State into a Business Corporation serving the interests of rich elite. In the process, already marginalized minorities living on the resource rich peripheries of the country are further subjected to oppression by the state authorities. Moreover, to divert the attention from resultant poverty growth, controversial CAA has been enacted to facilitate demographic engineering aimed at manipulation of figures; National Register of Citizens (NRC) being the instrument. State of poverty increase in India upto 17 December 2019, with Eastern and North Eastern states being most affected, is depicted in Figure 8 below.

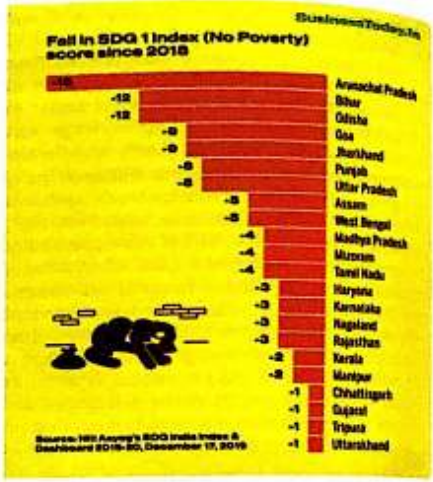

Figure 8. Increased Poverty in India -2019

- **Inflated Projections of Economic Progress.** Despite exaggerated projections of flourishing Indian economy, the reality is otherwise. In wake of the recent developments like abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A in Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir and CAA, the economy has in fact, sagged. Figure 9 below shows sliding economic growth of India since 2019 with projections till second quarter of 2020; the worst economic slowdown in last six years.

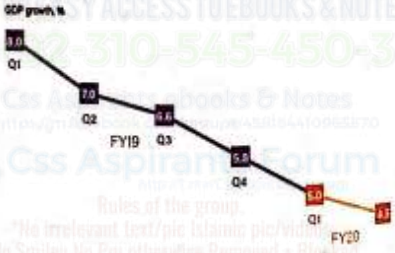

Figure 9. Sliding Economic Growth of India

https://www.eurasiagroup.net/live-post/risk-5-india-modi-fied

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Policy makers in India need to be cognizant of the fact that their perversities may come back to haunt them soon

- **Victimization of Foreign Nationals.** Anxious of being exposed, India has victimized numerous foreign human rights activists / correspondents. Recent denial of entry at Delhi airport and subsequent deportation of Ms Debbie Abraham, British Member of Parliament, is a case worth reckoning.

Conclusions

Policy makers in India need to be cognizant of the fact that their perversities may come back to haunt them soon. If they continue to pursue their malaise with the same impetus, it is expected that India would not only crumble under her own weight, but also pose a serious threat to both regional as well as global security at a colossal cost. Some inferences from the preceding paras, with foreseeable consequences are:-

- **Implosion.** The wanton widening of cleavages within the Indian society are likely to result into a catastrophic implosion. Consequent fragmentation into independent states and union territories on religious, caste, class and ethnic basis are foreseeable.
- **Extremism.** The nurturing under the auspices of Hindutva is likely to create an overwhelming pool of uncontainable extremists. Their presence in the society as well as unfathomable permeation into state institutions is also a sign of impending danger with far reaching effects on domestic as well as regional and global landscape.
- **Poverty vs Elitist Agenda.** In case the state apparatus continues to favour the corporate, rich elite by marginalizing the under-privileged masses, anti-state sentiments may transform into a civil war. The state must realize that when it comes to threatened survival, the have-nots may retaliate with incomprehensible force and consequences, out of desperation.

The nurturing under the auspices of Hindutva is likely to create an overwhelming pool of uncontainable extremists

- **Regional Security Paradigm.** As in the case of Post Afghan War Crisis, a large number of right-wing extremists (mercenaries, government functionaries, intelligence operatives and policy makers) are sure to create a turmoil, not only in her own backyard but also in the neighbouring countries without a recourse. Moreover, as a consequence of CAA and NRC, a refugee influx to neighbouring countries is imminent.
- **Threat to Global Integration.** Instead of a constructive role, the present policies of Indian government are perceived as threats to regional and global integration. Overt and covert opposition to Chinese Belt & Road Initiative (BRI) and other such strategic ventures are likely to obstruct the amalgamation of Europe and Asia into Eurasia.
- **The Power Curve.** Considering the Indian claims of historical age of the nation in light of the Mauryan Empire, the power curve indicates the Contractive Phase in David Murrin's 5-Phase Lifecycle. The policies and consequent dynamics of Indian society confirm most conditions of this phase; emphasis on individual rights (elites, extremist Hindus etc), social fragmentation, social discord and pessimism. Turning a blind eye towards the impending decline and applying manual over-ride through enforcing an expansionist agenda is likely to rebound with drastic results.

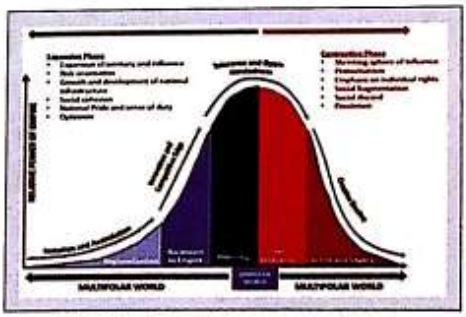

Figure 10. 5 Stage Power Curve

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Instead of turning a blind eye to expansionist designs in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR); Iran, Afghanistan and Oman must re-evaluate their commitments with India considering the fallouts

While the world braces for the dawn of Eurasian century, India is a ticking time bomb right in the heart of this trans-regional integration

Way Forward

Having analysed the looming threats, concerted efforts are imperative to undo the effects of Indian policies. In this regard, following measures are suggested:-

- **Global Community.** As the burden on mankind's conscience lingers, the global community must share its responsibility in this effort for attaining global / regional peace and stability. Some essential actions with respect to India are suggested below:-
  - Shun the influence of happy-go-lucky image presented by Bollywood or relentless rhetoric of Indian news channels, as reality is far uglier than the perceptions being induced.
  - Utilise good offices and diplomatic channels to influence India for upholding her commitments within and outside the country.
  - Encourage India to shift her energies from interference towards cooperation for legitimate mutual benefits of her neighbours, the region and the world.
  - Influence India to rethink her flawed policies. Instead of resorting to "Elimination of The Poor" aimed at manipulating the figures, focused efforts for poverty alleviation within and outside her geographical territory must be encouraged.
  - Instead of professing neutrality (with roots in geo-economic interests), stand with the truth and support the oppressed Kashmiris in attaining their right of self- determination promised by the United Nations in 1948.
  - Human Rights Organisations must approach United Nations for designation of RSS as a terrorist organization.
  - Instead of turning a blind eye to expansionist designs in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR); Iran, Afghanistan and Oman must re-evaluate their commitments with India considering the fallouts.
- **Pakistan.** Pakistan being a major stakeholder in the region and most aggrieved due to Indian hostility, must undertake following measures:-
  - Synergistic employment of all Elements of National Power to thwart Indian designs of destabilizing Pakistan, including Information Operations.
  - Undertake a deliberate effort to re-energise SAARC and utilize the forum for intelligence sharing between the member countries.
  - Proactive diplomatic activism to increase the sphere of influence in gaining support for tangible actions in eliminating Kashmiri people's sufferings.
  - Close collaboration between indigenous intelligence agencies for timely identification and exposure of impending Indian misadventures.
  - Continue exposing Indian perversities at all forums through all forms of electronic, social and print media.
  - Continue sponsoring an Afghan led and Afghan owned peace process, while undertaking measures to minimize Indian influence in Afghanistan.
  - In line with the national interests, continuous engagement with Iran in furthering the traditionally cordial relations.
  - Provision of intelligence, investigative and counter terrorism support to countries affected by the menace.
  - With Chinese consent, endeavor to integrate Iran, Afghanistan and other regional countries into CPEC / BRI.

Summing Up. While the world braces for the dawn of Eurasian century, India is a ticking time bomb right in the heart of this trans-regional integration. Where she could have acted as a significant conduit of geo-economic and geo-strategic convergence, the worst is yet to be seen. It is simply a matter of time, when India would crumble under the burden of her ever-growing fascism and become a Weapon of Mass Destruction herself, threatening global peace and security, unless timely addressed.

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ARMS CONTROL IN THE AGE OF NEW ARMS RACES: REALITIES AND OPTIONS FOR PAKISTAN

Ghazala Yasmin Jalil

ABSTRACT

Global arms control is in decline with both US-Russia bilateral arms control collapsing and multilateral arms control weakening. This has not only heralded a new era where the norms of arms control and disarmament have been replaced by a "normative" approach that de-emphasises formal arms control and encourages responsible behaviour and creating informal conditions for disarmament. It has been accompanied by a renewed emphasis on nuclear weapons and other weapons systems that have set in motion a new era of arms races. Both the US and Russia are developing an array of nuclear weapons and are indulging in massive military modernization programmes. India is also indulging in military acquisitions and constantly modernizing its nuclear forces, accompanied by a threatening posture against Pakistan. It has also made tremendous progress in military space programme. This makes the international strategic arena an extremely dangerous one. It has also heralded an era characterised by Neorealist notions of anarchy and self-help. In such an uncertain world Pakistan's best option is to follow the self-help principle whereby it should have a strong strategic and conventional deterrent so that no country can threaten its security. At the same time, Pakistan needs to keep lobbying and pushing for arms control arrangements and build alliances to counterbalance threats from India.

Key Words: Arms control, normative approach, arms races, anarchy, self-help.

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India is indulging in military acquisitions and constantly modernizing its nuclear forces. It has also made progress in military space programme and even conducted an anti-satellite test in March 2019

Pakistan's best option is to follow the self-help principle. It should have a strong strategic and conventional deterrent so that no country can threaten its security

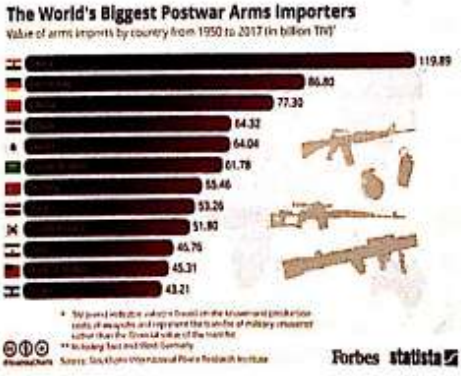
Introduction

There has been a visible decay in international arms control. The US and Russian bilateral arms control arrangement has collapsed. The year 2019 saw the demise of the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty that was the cornerstone of European security which required the United States and the Soviet Union to eliminate and permanently forswear all of their nuclear and conventional ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges of 500 to 5,500 kilometers. The last remaining bilateral treaty the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) is on the verge of demise unless it can be extended by February 2021. There are no serious efforts by the US to extend the treaty even though Russia has offered to extend it unconditionally. The US withdrew from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) in 2018 which put checks on the development of Iranian nuclear programme. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) has not made any substantive progress. The CTBT has been in limbo for over two decades. UN forums like the Conference on Disarmament have been ineffective in negotiating arms control arrangements. There is no progress on the much-needed arms control legislation in outer space. The US has not taken any interest in arms control arrangements in outer space. In fact, it is developing space force that is exclusively devoted to combat and space operations.

Overall, the world has either moved away from arms control arrangements or abrogated existing arms control agreements. This has not only heralded a new era where the norms of arms control and disarmament have been replaced by a renewed normative approach that de-emphasises formal arms control and encourages responsible behaviour, and creating informal conditions for disarmament. The breakdown in arms control has been accompanied by a renewed emphasis on nuclear weapons and other weapons systems, it has set in motion a new era of arms races. Both the US and Russia are developing an array of nuclear weapons and indulging in massive military modernization programmes. India is also indulging in military acquisitions and constantly modernizing its nuclear forces. It has also made tremendous progress in military space programme and even conducted an anti-satellite test in March 2019. This makes the international strategic arena an extremely dangerous one. Pakistan's neighbour India heightens Pakistan's threat perceptions with ever increasing military power and a threatening posture.

With the crumbling of the arms control arrangements the international system is moving towards a world characterised by self-help. In such a world, what should be Pakistan's options? The paper would argue that while Pakistan stands by its commitment to arms control but the world is moving away from it, towards a renewed emphasis on nuclear weapons and other weapon systems. India also seems least interested in discussing arms control arrangement. In such a scenario, Pakistan's best option is to follow the self-help principle. It should have a strong strategic and conventional deterrent so that no country can threaten its security. At the same time Pakistan needs to keep lobbying and pushing for arms control arrangements like the arms control in outer space and regional arms control regime.

The paper would address questions like: How are the norms of global arms control changing? How is global arms control regime faring with new realities in the global strategic environment? What impact is it having in terms of perpetuating new arms races? What options can Pakistan's pursue?



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The new "normative" approach is much bigger one, not just confined to the nuclear realm but extends to biological weapons, outer space, cyberspace and many other areas

Theoretical Framework

International relations have a widely differing perspective on the role and value of institutions such as the ones that comprise the arms control regime. Liberal school of thought is a proponent of international institutions and sees cooperation among states possible.[1] Realism does not see value of institutions and when they are there, they only serve the interests of major powers.[2] Many critical theorists use Robert Cox's concept of hegemony and power[3] to define the global nuclear order. It is reflected in the ability of large powers to define the global order and the arms control regime.[4] These very powers once showed willingness to negotiate arms control agreements to mitigate the threat of nuclear war. They defined the rules of the game. Prime example is the NPT where only five states were recognised as nuclear-weapon states (NWS) and the rest of the signatory states gave up their right to develop nuclear weapons. Arms control in the past was focused on preventing the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons while managing the vertical proliferation. In essence they defined the norms of global nuclear order. In a similar way, now the great powers are redefining the norms of the global nuclear order, arms control and offensive turn in other spheres like outer space. These reflect the power structures and power relations. The abandonment of existing arms control arrangements, and a move towards military and nuclear modernization is also setting a new norm

The world is witnessing a fundamental change in the arms control norms. From traditional arms control to "normative" arms control discourse

for other emerging powerful countries. India is such a power that is massively investing in armament, both conventional and nuclear, it is also increasing its offensive power in outer space. This is of concern to Pakistan since its main security threat comes from India.

The paper would also rely on the Neorealist school of thought which sees international structure characterised by anarchy, where states are responsible for their own security. Since there is no overarching mechanism to govern states, they feel threatened by each other and must rely on themselves for security, thus it is a self-help system.[5] International norms, institutions and agreements are falling apart; trade and technology wars dominating international agenda; and tense relations between the US and Russia and US and China driving geopolitics world order is unpredictable. Cooperative security arrangements have crumbled. There is a resurgence of the importance of Sovereign states which are responsible for their own security.[6]

Change in Norms of Arms Control

The world is witnessing a fundamental change in the arms control norms. From traditional arms control to "normative" arms control discourse. The US has emerged as the champion of the latter approach. It is a fluid approach that favours establishing norms of responsible behaviour. Dr Christopher Ashley Ford said "We seek to develop and build upon like-mindedness with a wide range of partners willing to engage in good faith in trying to manage these challenges. We also seek to use this like mindedness as a foundation for collective action in response to reckless or destabilizing behaviours".[7] In essence, this means that there is a move away from arms control treaties that are legally binding and signatory states must adhere to. The arguments used are that, given the tremendous advancements in technology, formal legal treaties and instruments cannot keep up with the pace of technology. In practice this means that the US does not want its arms developments constrained by any bilateral or multilateral arms control agreements. This is perhaps why there has been an unravelling of the existing arms control arrangements, and no political will to negotiate new ones or extend old arms control arrangements.

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US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo "the US would no longer cede military advantage to revisionist state like China that is threatening US and its allies."

The new "normative" approach is manifested in US initiatives like Creating an Environment for Nuclear Disarmament (CEND). It was originally submitted as a working paper in the second preparatory committee for the NPT Review Conference in 2018.[8] It focuses on creating conditions where states relations are not driven by competition but are cooperative and free from conflict. It also promotes best practices and creates awareness of issues instead of following hard rules codified by international treaties. This approach is a much bigger one, not just confined to the nuclear realm but extends to biological weapons, outer space, cyberspace and many other areas.

The nuclear weapons states, especially the US, have for decades set the rules for international non-proliferation regime. They are still setting out the norms and rules of international arms control regime. It has set on a course that de-emphasises formal arms control arrangements and emphasises a fluid vague approach that is being dubbed the normative approach. This trend has been accompanied by an unravelling of existing arms control arrangements.

Unravelling of Arms Control

There has been a systematic unravelling of the existing arms control arrangement. It ranges from abrogation of bilateral arms control arrangements between US and Russia, multilateral ones like JCPOA and open skies treaty. Refusal to engage in meaningful negotiations regarding CTBT, FMCT, progress in NPT, outer space and biological weapons.

The breakdown of US-Russia bilateral arms control started with US withdrawal from the 1972 Anti-

Another arms control treaty that is under threat is the 2010 New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, which limits the deployed strategic nuclear warheads and bombs to 1,550, deployed missiles and bombers at 700, and the total number of launchers at 800

President Barack Obama signs the instrument of ratification of the New START Treaty, Feb. 2, 2011

Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM)in 2002. It sets limits on ABM systems the two countries could deploy against each other. Subsequently, the US went on to develop and deploy extensive missile defence systems in US homeland as well as in Europe. For Russia, US missile defence deployments under NATO's European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) in Europe are a source of concern. While the US maintains that its missile defences are aimed against threats from Iran and Middle East.[9] Russia suspects it is meant to nullify its second-strike capability. It has long been a source of contention between the two states. As later section will show Russian arms development are geared towards overcoming this vulnerability.

The next causality of the breakdown in bilateral arms control is the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. It was signed between the two Cold War super powers to keep ground-based nuclear weapons out of Europe. The INF prohibited the manufacture and deployment of missiles with ranges 500-5500 km. It led the US and Russia to remove thousands of nuclear missiles aimed at each other. Under the INF, the Soviet Union eliminated 1846 missiles while the US 846.[10] The US accused Russia of violating the treaty by developing the ground launched cruise missile Novator 9M729. Russia also accused the US of violating the treaty as well. It alleges that the missile defence interceptors that the US has deployed in Europe can be turned into offensive weapons with minor modifications. Russia also accused US of violating the treaty by using prohibited missiles for target practice; by developing drones that are essentially cruise missiles and by taking maritime missile defence system Aegis Ashore and basing it on land.[11] Russia showed willingness to discuss and resolve the issues time and again but the US did not respond positively. The US formally declared withdrawal from INF in February 2019. As of August 2019, the treaty formally ended.

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Open Skies Treaty is a multilateral agreement that facilitates short-notice unarmed reconnaissance over flights among member states with the aim to promote military transparency

The US has stated China as one of the reasons for withdrawing from the INF. US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo clearly stated that "the US would no longer cede military advantage to revisionist state like China that is threatening US and its allies".[12] This suggests that while the US made Russian non-compliance as an excuse for withdrawing from the INF. It is in fact no longer perceived to be in US interest to forgo an entire category of ballistic missiles.

Demise of the INF has serious repercussion as it leaves Europe vulnerable to the danger of medium range ballistic missiles. It leaves the US and Russia to develop and field intermediate range nuclear missiles which lessens the security of Europe. In fact, the US is already well on its way to test and deploy missiles that were prohibited under INF.[13] Also if the US deploys IRBMs in China's neighbourhood it would threaten China. China would react by building and fielding weapons of its own.

Another arms control treaty that is under threat is the 2010 New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, which limits the deployed strategic nuclear warheads and bombs to 1,550, deployed missiles and bombers at 700, and the total number of launchers at 800. This is also a landmark treaty under which US and Russia eliminated thousands of nuclear warheads and launchers. New START will expire in February 2021 and can be extended for a further five years through mutual agreement.[14] There have so far not been any hopeful signs from the US that it is willing to extend the treaty. It has said that new arms control treaties should be negotiated that also include China. China has refused to negotiate any such trilateral arms control arrangements, saying that its nuclear arsenal is very small and does not threaten any great power. However, if US and Russia fail to extend the New START expires, it would be the end of bilateral arms control architecture that has provided a check on unrestrained arms development for decades.

Russian President has warned that letting the New START expire would have huge repercussions. He said that with the end of New START there will not be any limitations on arms control which could have catastrophic consequences.[15] He also expressed deep concern over the absence of global discussion over the issue.

The bilateral arms control structure is at risk and its demise would be destabilising not just for US and Russia but for the entire world, since it is likely to fuel an unchecked nuclear arms race. It would also have wider implications that go beyond US and Russia and would negatively impact the entire world. It also strengthens the norm that the US is building to de-emphasize formal arms control towards a "normative" approach.

On the multilateral front the US also withdrew from the JCPOA. Negotiated in 2015, it sets certain limits on Iran's nuclear programme so that it cannot develop nuclear weapons. The parties to the agreement were Iran, US, China, Russia, France, Germany, UK and EU. It was endorsed by the United Nations Security Council Resolution S/RES/2231, and was binding on all member states. It was thus part of international law. When the US withdrew from it in May 2018 it thus challenged UN Security Council authority. It also withdrew despite the fact that Iran was in compliance with JCPOA implementation as verified by the International Atomic Energy Agency.[16] The US also

CTBT also remains in limbo which was signed in 1996 but has yet to enter into force because of refusal of the US, China, India, Pakistan, Israel, Iran, Egypt and North Korea to ratify the treaty since it will ban any future nuclear testing

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imposed a string of sanctions on Iran. The withdrawal from JCPOA falls in line with the general policy to abrogate arms control arrangements. It was also a political decision against Iran, and part of the Trump Administration's agenda to undo any arms control achievements of the Obama Administration.

Open Skies Treaty is another one that the US has been talking about withdrawing from since the end of 2019. Open Skies Treaty is a multilateral agreement that facilitates short-notice unarmed reconnaissance over flights among member states, with the aim to promote military transparency. It has been in force since 2002 and has 34 state parties. The US claims Russia is abusing the treaty and with satellites operational it is redundant. However, it is more likely to be part of the new wave of abrogating existing arms control arrangements. In essence, the US does not want any curbs or checks on its activities.

The NPT has not made much progress for years. The 2015 NPT Review conference ended in failure and the one in 2020 (postponed due to Covid-19 pandemic) is not likely to have much success either. The Nuclear weapons states have failed under its article VI to pursue negotiation in good faith over disarmament and cessation of arms races. In frustration, states in favour of nuclear abolition have negotiated the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) in July 2017. It has also revealed fissure in non-proliferation regime and has hastened initiatives like CEND.

The Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) also remains in limbo, which was signed in 1996 but has yet to enter into force because of refusal of the US, China, India, Pakistan, Israel, Iran, Egypt and North Korea to ratify the treaty since it will ban any

The new arms race is not likely to be bilateral but will involve many more states. It will include states like China, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea. It may also encourage a whole new round of nuclear proliferation

future nuclear testing.[17] Similarly, the FMCT remains in limbo due to differences over the terms of the treaty, whereby states like Pakistan and other insist that existing fissile material stockpiles should be taken into consideration as well as banning future fissile material production. It has been concerned over the prospects of being locked into a relative disadvantageous position over India's larger fissile material stockpile. The US put up a proposal in 2006 for five NPT recognized nuclear weapons states that lacked verification measure.[18] However, since then no progress has been made over the issue.

Arms control negotiations have also stalled in the realm of outer space. There is one effective treaty the Outer Space Treaty signed in 1967 that only bans placement of nuclear biological weapons in space but it does not prohibit placement of conventional weapons in space. Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) of 1963 bans nuclear test in Atmosphere, Outer Space and Underwater. Efforts over the years to negotiate effective laws to regulate outer space have not had much success. The UN Conference on Disarmament (CD) has been deadlocked for decades. European Union's International Code of Conduct for Outer Space Activities convened in 2015, which proposes not to damage or destroy any satellite except for self-defence and for managing space debris, has not had any significant success. The initiative for Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space (PAROS) has been on CD agenda for several decades now without success. Russia and China have endorsed and submitted proposals many a times for arms control measure in outer space and PAROS.[19] However, the US has rejected all proposals and refuses to introduce any proposals of its own. This has been accompanied by an increase in offensive military activities in outer space. The US has created the US Space force to maintain superiority in space.

Export control regimes have been created which are essentially a group of elite states that aim to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, biological weapons, conventional weapons and missiles technology to states outside the group. These include the Missile Technology Control Regime,

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On March 1, 2018 Russian President Vladimir Putin in a state of the nation speech said that Russia is developing nuclear powered underwater drone, a nuclear tipped cruise missile and a hypersonic missile that is unrivalled in the world and has the capability to defeat any missile defence system

Australia Group, Wassenaar Arrangement and the Nuclear Suppliers' Group. India's has been included in the three out of the four export control groups. It has essentially been promoted as a state displaying "responsible nuclear behaviour." The US has lobbied hard for India to be included in the fourth group as well – the NSG. According to present criterial of the group, India needs to be an NPT signatory to be granted membership. But the US is trying to circumvent the rules to include India in NSG. In 2008 it had the group grant a waiver to India, whereby NSG member states could do nuclear business with India. If this is part of the new US normative approach to arms control, to promote and reward "responsible behaviour" this is certainly cause of concern for Pakistan. The latter also seeks membership of NSG but has so far been denied membership.

Rise of Era of New Arms Races

The weakening of international arms control has been accompanied by an era of new arms races. Both US and Russia are already modernizing massively across all their nuclear legs. There is competition in offensive nuclear weapons but also in non-nuclear weapons, as well as in development of space weapons. However, the new arms race is not likely to be bilateral but will involve many more states. It will include states like China, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea. It may also encourage a whole new round of nuclear proliferation, perhaps including Iran and Saudi Arabia. A wave of new countries like Brazil, Egypt, South Korea could also opt for developing nuclear weapons.[22] This will make the new arms race deadlier and more complex and the world a very dangerous place.

The United States

At present the US has around 1650 strategic nuclear warheads deployed on land, air and sea, and around 180 tactical nuclear weapons on US bases around Europe.[23] The US plans for massive modernization over the next 30 years with the cost of $ 1.7 billion.[24] Some of the modernization plans were inherited from the President Obama administration while some are new. However, the US nuclear arsenal is being upgraded at land, air and sea. The US investment in upgrading and updating its nuclear forces is the largest in the world.

Moreover, with the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) in 2018 the US has made it clear that it is going to develop a whole new range of nuclear weapons. This would include new ICBMs, new bombers, and submarines that are capable of launching ballistic missiles as well and new tactical nuclear weapons.[25] During the Cold war, the latter were deemed dangerous by both US and Soviet Union and they eventually agreed to eliminate these. Development of tactical nuclear weapons would mean a lowering of nuclear threshold which is dangerous thinking on the part of the US. The NPR also call for the development of a sea launched cruise missile.

The US is also modernizing its triad of nuclear forces. The US has plans to replace its 400 Minuteman III ICBMs which are deployed by the Air force. It has plans to develop 600 missiles out of which 400 will be deployed through 2070. In the air, B2 and B-52 bombers are being upgraded.[26] These will eventually be replaced by the B-21 Raider. The Air force plans to purchase 100 B-21s. The US has plans to equip its bombers with air-launched long-range cruise missile (ALCM).[27]

The US plans are pushing other countries like China and Russia to modernize their nuclear arsenals and non-nuclear weaponry.

Russia

Like the US, Russia is also undergoing a modernization of its nuclear forces at land, air and sea. Some modernization is to replace and upgrade aging systems, while some are in response to US weapons plans. Less than a month after US released its NPR, Russian President Vladimir Putin announced plans to develop and field a range of new nuclear weapons. On March 1, 2018 Russian President Vladimir Putin in a state of the nation speech said that Russia is developing nuclear powered underwater drone, a nuclear tipped cruise missile and a hypersonic missile that is unrivalled in the world and has the capability to defeat any missile defence system.[28] He claimed that its new hypersonic missile can reach any point in the world. He described the proposed cruise missile as having unlimited range and difficult to detect.[29] He emphasised that both these missiles are invincible and cannot be detected by any missile defence system. The thrust of

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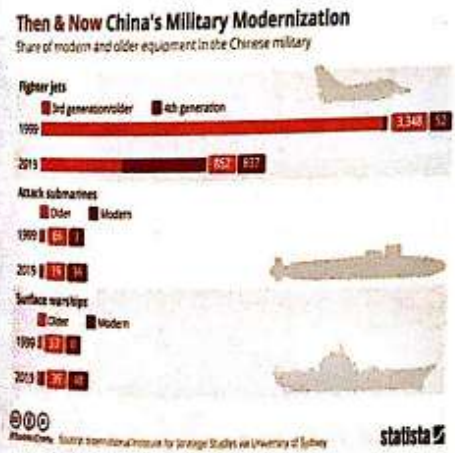
The US nuclear modernization, its abrogation of arms control treaties and rising tensions in bilateral relations with China are creating incentives for the latter to modernize its nuclear forces

these weapons development is the threat that Russia perceives from US missile defence systems developed since demise of the ABM treaty.

Overall, Russia is modernizing across all three nuclear legs - on land, air and sea. At sea Russia is modernizing its ballistic missile submarine fleet. It has 6 Delta Class submarines. It also deployed a few Borei Class submarines in the last few years and has plans to induct six more Borei Class submarines bringing the total number of the submarine fleet to at least 12, that will field 192 SLBMs with approximately 580 warheads[28] since most missiles are equipped with multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs). The Yasen Class attack nuclear submarines would carry SLCMs. In the air Russia is planning to replace its existing bomber fleet TU-160 with the stealth bomber PAK-DA. On land the Topol-M is being modernized. It has deployed MIRVed version of the Topol-M the RS 24 Yars. It currently deploys 180 ICBMs carrying 480 nuclear warheads. A new more advanced Sarmat ICBM is being developed and deployed after 2020.[29]

US development of missile defences threatened Russia and it has developed an array of weapons to counter and defeat US. They are both



massively modernising their arsenals in order to deter threats from each other and other major powers in the world. Their arms race is not just confined to this field but extends to non-nuclear field, offensive and defensive strategic systems, space and cyberspace as well. The brewing new arms race bodes ill for the two great powers as well as for the international security.

China

On the other hand, the US-China relations have also deteriorated considerably since US president Donald Trump came into power. The trade war between the two countries has also heightened tensions. For over a decade the West and especially the US have seen China's rise as a threat. South China Sea has increasingly become a flashpoint between the US and China. China sees the area as its sphere of influence while the US has an increasing presence and activity in the area. So, there is a competition brewing between US and China as well.

The US nuclear modernization, its abrogation of arms control treaties and rising tensions in bilateral relations with China are creating incentives for the latter to modernize its nuclear forces. China has a modest nuclear programme compared to the US and Russia. It only has a nuclear arsenal of roughly 280 nuclear warheads, compared to approximately 4000 nuclear warheads of the US.[30] It has a triad of nuclear forces - based on land, air and sea.

China is modernizing across all three legs of its nuclear triad. However, it is concentrated more on its ground-based forces and its sea-based capabilities. China is modernizing its ICBMs force. It is adding road mobile DF-31A and DF-41 and has also developed a hypersonic glide vehicle DF-ZF which became operational in October 2019. Missile is designed to be mounted on DF-17 and has two dual use Cruise missiles CJ-10 and CJ-20.[31] It has also introduced the intermediate range DF-26 being dubbed as the Guam killer intended against the threat of US forces in the Pacific.[32] It has the capability to launch close to 80 IRBMs in Asia, including US forces in Japan and South Korea.

China is developing MIRV capable ICBMS in response to the US ballistic missiles defence plans. It has updated the DF-5 which was the main component of its strategic deterrence into MIRV-capable DF-5B. China is also developing technologies that can penetrate BMD systems, satellite capabilities that can potentially damage US space-based BMD systems and also developing BMD system of its own.[33] China's modernization is driven by a threat from the US, and to a lesser extent from Russia and India.

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The deepening Strategic Partnership between the US and India is fuelling India Pakistan arms competition. It is providing technological advantages to India and it is emboldening it in terms of its nuclear posture and encouraging pre-emptive tendencies

At sea, China is developing the submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBM), JL-2 with a range of over 7000 km. It has four submarines capable of carrying 12 SLBM each and a fifth submarine is under construction.[34]

Overall, China's modernization may include deploying SLBMs, and cruise missiles but it is primarily focused on improving the quality and quantity of its land based nuclear force. It is focused on MIRVing its missiles and making them more penetrable against any missile defence systems. The ultimate goal is to make its nuclear forces more survivable and less vulnerable to a first strike

India's Modernization

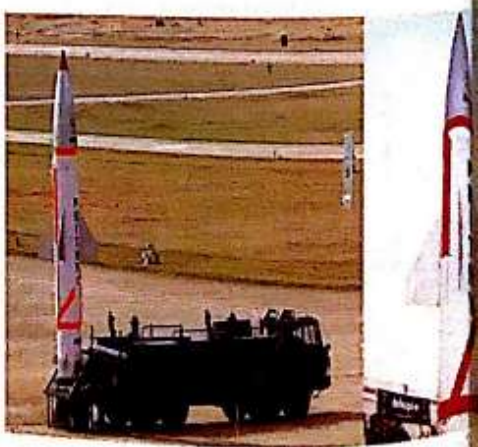
India has benefitted from the weakening of arms control regime and the prominence of normative approach where it can be declared as a responsible nuclear weapons state and being brought into the fold of elite states running the non-proliferation regime. The deepening Strategic Partnership between the US and India is fuelling India-Pakistan arms competition. It is providing technological advantages to India and emboldening it in terms of its nuclear posture and encouraging pre-emptive tendencies.

India has built its conventional forces massively and continues to build nuclear forces. It has a triad of nuclear forces where it is working on ICBM capability and also operationalising submarine based Naval nuclear capability. It has plans to build 4-6 nuclear attack submarines at sea in the next 15 years. It already has two nuclear submarines operational since 2017 and already has a range of nuclear capable missiles that are part of its naval nuclear strike capabilities. These include K-15 and K-4 missiles, Dhanush and Brahmos cruise missile. This gives India a second-strike capability.[35] The US has also approved sale of 24 anti-submarine MH-60 Helicopters worth $ 2.6 billion. This nuclearizes the Indian Ocean and makes Pakistan's naval nuclear deterrent more vulnerable.

India is looking to acquire fighter jets, missiles, submarines and warships in the next five to seven years. These plans are a great source of concern for Pakistan whose primary security threat comes from India

It is also massively building its missiles defence capabilities. Besides its indigenous systems it has negotiated a deal with Russia to acquire five S-400 missiles defence systems worth $5.5 billion. The systems are expected be delivered between 2020-3 and would give it capability to defend against incoming missiles and aircrafts. This negatively impacts on nuclear deterrence equation between India and Pakistan thus creating more instability in South Asia.[36]

India is in the process of acquiring major weaponry. The US cleared sale of $155 million deal to sell India 10 AGM-84L Harpoon Block II air-launched missiles and16 MK 54 torpedoes.[37] US companies are also bidding for a contract worth $15 billion to supply 114 combat airplanes for the air force. India is also buying $14.5 billion worth of weapons from Russian.[38] India is set to spend $ 130 billion on military modernization in the next five to seven years.[39] It is looking to modernize across all three forces. India is looking to acquire fighter jets, missiles, submarines and warships in the next five to seven years. These plans are a great source of concern for Pakistan whose primary security threat comes from India. Such massive build-ups tilt the strategic balance in favour of India and bring more instability to South Asia.



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With the militarization and possible weaponization of space by the great powers, the prospects of any negotiation of treaties to keep space weapons-free would become a utopian idea

Arms Race in Outer Space

The arms race is also spilling into outer space. Both Russia and the US have extensive military space assets and have anti-satellite capabilities as well. The US has set up a Space force as a military service for space operations with the mission to protect US interests in space, to provide support to land, air, naval and cyber forces, offensive and defensive space operations to achieve space superiority. This essentially means a broad role for military space assets. Russia already has a space force. India also conducted an anti-satellite test in March 2019. India has considerable military space assets that are threatening Pakistan. With the militarization and possible weaponization of space by the great powers, the prospects of any negotiation of treaties to keep space weapons-free would become a utopian idea.

States address their perceived security needs by enhancing their own relative strength. Cooperative arms control draws little attention...States, therefore prepare for wars they do not want and that they usually do not wage

Implications and Options for Pakistan

The crumbling international arms control structure has ushered in an era that is characterised by military build-ups, arms races in the conventional, nuclear and space realms. This undermines strategic stability at the international and regional level. The world today is unpredictable, marked by distrust; "states address their perceived security needs by enhancing their own relative strength. Cooperative arms control draws little attention...States, therefore prepare for wars they do not want and that they usually do not wage".[48] It seems the world is descending into Neorealist notion of anarchy and chaos. In such a world it is important to assess options for states like Pakistan.

JF-17 Thunder

There are a limited number of options that Pakistan can exercise in the emerging scenario. It looks like the world is collapsing into a structure where each state is responsible for its own security – a self-help world. International institutions in the form of arms control regime have weakened and are failing to keeps weapons development in check. It is failing to provide an overarching framework that regulates, keeps check and balance on offensive capabilities of states.

In Pakistan's neighbourhood as well, there is barely any arms control arrangement in place. Pakistan proposed a Strategic Restraint Regime (SRR) in the wake of 1998 nuclear tests but India rejected it. Pakistan also proposed it in the round of bilateral talks in 2004. Its primary purpose was to prevent an open ended nuclear, conventional and missile arms race and reduce the risk of a nuclear war. However, India rejected all such proposals over the years, and has gone on to massively arm itself in conventional, nuclear realms and has developed offensive military capabilities in outer space. India's ambitions of achieving a great power status have been aided by weapon deals with Russia and the US. Indo-US strategic partnership has also played a part in tilting strategic balance in favour of India which sees the latter as a counter balance against a rising China.

This leaves Pakistan the option to develop and maintain a conventional and nuclear capability as a hedge against India's growing offensive capabilities. Since Pakistan has a small economy compared to its rival India and also a smaller defence budget, Pakistan cannot match India weapon for weapon or afford to get into a costly arms race. It has thus focused on maintaining a basic conventional capability. It relies on its nuclear deterrent to counter the threat from India. It

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Another option for Pakistan is to seek alliances in order to counterbalance threats from India

has an estimated 110-120 nuclear arsenal and a credible minimum deterrence policy. It relies on short and medium-range missiles, as well as cruise missiles to provide land based nuclear deterrent. Pakistan's missiles arsenal ranges from the short-range Nasr with 60 km range, to its Shaheen 2 series with a maximum range of 2500 km.[41] Pakistan has also developed the Ababeel with 2200 km range which can launch multiple warheads using MIRV technology. It can also defeat enemy radars and is meant to ensure missiles' survivability against Indian BMD systems. Several of Pakistan's later missiles have been developed to evade or defeat Indian BMD, which is a great source of concern for Islamabad. Pakistan also has developed the 700 km range Babur cruise missile which is also capable of avoiding radar detection and penetrate Indian missile defence systems. Pakistan has developed the Air Launched Cruise Missile (ALCM) Raád with 350 km range which is again meant to penetrate missile defence systems.

At sea Pakistan has tried to develop a second-strike capability in response to Indian operationalization of the naval leg. It is comprised of Submarine-Launched Cruise Missile (SLCM) Babur-3 with 450 km range, which is deployed on the Agosta Class diesel powered submarines. Pakistan has thus tried to bring qualitative and quantitative improvements to its nuclear and missile forces in order to maintain the credibility of its nuclear deterrent in the face of India's massive nuclear and conventional build-up, and its increasingly sophisticated BMD systems.

Another option for Pakistan is to seek alliances in order to counterbalance threats from India. Pakistan has a long and time-tested alliance with China that has helped Pakistan strengthen its defence capabilities, boosted its economy with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), and has backed Pakistan on the diplomatic front. Since Prime Minister Imran Khan came to power, Pakistan is also strengthening its relations with US, Russia, Turkey, Iran, Malaysia, Kyrgistan, Qatar and Saudi Arabia. He has made 25 visits to 11 countries in the short two-year tenure of his government. It seeks to strengthen its ties across the globe.

Despite weakening of global arms control, Pakistan needs to keep lobbying for effective arms control measures like FMCT, CTBT, its membership to NSG and arms control in outer space

Despite weakening of global arms control, Pakistan needs to keep lobbying for effective arms control measures like FMCT, CTBT, its membership to NSG and arms control in outer space. The world needs to realise that abrogation of arms control and unchecked development of offensive weapons is very dangerous and destabilising. It only leads to one path - war and perhaps annihilation of humanity. Proponents of effective arms control must thus come together and work for steering the world away from the path of destruction.

Conclusion

The de-emphasis of traditional arms control and a move towards a normative approach to arms control that shuns formal controls over arms development and offensive activities has translated into demise of US-Russia arms control as well as weakening of global arms control. It essentially means that the international norms have clearly been moving away from arms control and disarmament. Nuclear weapons are being portrayed as good, as a measure of national status, strength and useable. The resulting new arms races have pushed the international security landscape towards an emphasis on arms and the realist concept of self-help. The new arms races are more complex than the one during the Cold War and multilateral. This is a very dangerous development and signifies a return to the Neorealist concept of anarchy where individual states are responsible for their sovereignty and security. In such a scenario, Pakistan's best option is to rely on its own conventional and nuclear capabilities to secure itself against a rapidly arming India, seek alliances to counterbalance India and keep lobbying for some arms control arrangements in order to maintain strategic stability in South Asia.

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CYBER WARFARE: PREPARING FOR THE NEXT BIG WAR

Brig Dr Abdul Rauf

Brig Dr Monis Akhlaq

ABSTRACT

Global cyberspace has evolved so swiftly over a period of time that its extents have become difficult to grasp and the dynamics of cyber environment a decade from now are hard to forecast. However, it can be predicted with surety that anyone controlling the cyberspace would rule the world. Cyberspace can be visualized as something analogous to the physical world, where everything from real life is replicated in one form or the other. This similarity implies that other than the warfare types in the actual world, there exists a battlefield in the cyberspace as well with its own peculiar techniques, called cyber warfare. Cyber warfare is not a new warfare, rather it has been termed as an important dimension of modern war, where its diminuendos change as quickly as that of the cyberspace itself. Therefore for any nation staying abreast with the subtleties of cyber warfare is the need of the time. In this backdrop, the article presents a concise overview of cyber warfare conceptual paradigm, the prevalent threat spectrum and some pertinent lessons from contemporary states in order to highlight a strategic perspective coupled with crisp implementation modalities.

Key Words: Cyber Warfare, National Security and Cyber Defence.

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With the introduction of IoT and 5G there is going to be an exponential growth in connected devices and expansion of cyber world by manifolds. The price of entry into internet world is extremely low

Conceptual Paradigm

News about cyber incidents are persistently on the rise nowadays with novel cybercrimes and associated techniques discovered each day. Computer users continually hear about the latest cyberattacks attempting to steal credentials, hacking, malware, adware, botnets, ransomware, insider threats, dark web, zero-day attacks, privacy, identity thefts, data protection, wireless, Wi-Fi & IoT security vulnerabilities, deepfakes, smartphone hacking, SIM-jacking, cloud-jacking, AI poisoning, cyber espionage, cyber sabotage etc, and now its all-encompassing Cyber Warfare.[1]

The speedy deployment of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is effecting the entire world. The idea of cyberspace, cyber power and the related danger of cyber war is the result of the infiltration of ICT in almost every field of life. Cybersecurity has emerged as a new element of national security and correspondingly cyber power is acknowledged as a new building block of national power. Many nations are actively defining and building their cyber defensive and offensive capabilities. Activities of cyber reconnaissance, espionage and probing missions both by the state and non-state actors are on the rise. World may be spending more financial, academic and research capital in digging out how to carry out cyber warfare rather than on activities focused at how to thwart it. Today, approximately over 140 countries are emerging in offensive cyber warfare potential.[2]

In this era of global connectivity, our dependency on internet based technologies is on the rise and is continuously increasing with each passing day. With the introduction of IoT and 5G there is going to be an exponential growth in connected devices and expansion of cyber world by manifolds. The price of entry into internet world is extremely low. Furthermore the gains or profit of attacking someone in cyber world are much higher than the investments and risks. This is what is motivating people to invest in cyber domain. We need to develop our cyber defensive and cyber offensive capabilities not only to prepare for the next cyberwar but actually to defend ourselves in the ongoing cyberwar.

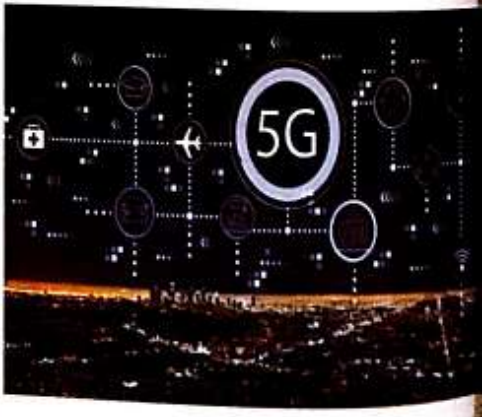
"Cyber power is the ability to use cyber-space to create advantages and influence events in other operational environments and across the instruments of power"

Defining Cyber Warfare

Cyberspace. Today, the number of computer systems is more than two billion (and increasing every minute) including IT servers, network routers, switches connected through optical fibre, copper cables and over the air using wireless communication to make these IT infrastructures interact and collaborate. These mutually dependent and unified IT networks and systems exist at once in both physical and virtual space without any restrictions of geographic borders. The concept of Net Centric Warfare (NCW) would not be possible without cyber based potential. Targeting the necessary information by the tool and then trusting real-time updates to accurately reach the target from the GPS satellite can only be achieved through cyberspace.

Cyber Power. As described by Stuart H Starr "Cyber power is the ability to use cyberspace to create advantages and influence events in other operational environments and across the instruments of power". Hence, cyber power is the ability to use cyberspace stage.[3]

Cyber Warfare. Cyber warfare may be defined as the use of cyber power either to impose sentence to



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an opponent or to get political aim without the enemy's consent. Cyber warfare is a harmonized digital harass on a state by another. The act by a nation to penetrate another nation's computer systems and networks for the purpose of break or interruption of ICT services. Cyber warfare can be described as attacks between sectors, from terrorist groups, or just attacks by persons (hackers), who seem as war like, in their intention. The US Department of Defence (USDOD) describes cyber warfare as "the employment of cyber capabilities where the primary purpose is to achieve military objectives or effects in or through cyberspace." As defined in UN Security Council Resolution, "Cyber warfare is the use of computers or digital means by a government or with explicit knowledge of or permission of that state against another state, or private property within another state including; intended access, interception of data or damage to digital and digitally controlled infrastructure and production and distribution of devices which can be used to undermine domestic activity".[4,5,6,7]

Cyber Warfare as Computer Network Operations (CNOs)

Cyber Warfare is the new type of operations where the nations / groups / individuals conduct CNOs to get their goal. CNOs can be commenced either alone or in combination with the Kinetic Operations. These are basically combination of the following:

Computer Network Attack (CNA). The operations planned to interrupt, refute, degrade or demolish information occupant in computer systems and computer networks. The fresh developments in which the computer systems can thwart with the physical systems have offered the CNOs with very effective capacity to attack the vital infrastructure of the opponent.

Computer Network Exploitation (CNE). It is recovering intelligence rank data and information from the computer systems of an opponent by using ICT. This technique is used by nations, groups and persons for getting information to make data base for further use or for sabotage.

Intranet and internet based technologies have widened the threat domain with no limits; offensive could be launched from anywhere, any platform and towards any target

Computer Network Defence (CND). All procedures essential to defend own ICT systems and networks and infrastructures against antagonistic CNA and CNE. It is a luxurious and prolonged activity, needs a huge expertise and vigilant human resource.

Prevailing Threat Spectrum Emerging Scenario

Digital revolution has necessitated usage of Information Technology (IT) in all domains of life. The transformation has witnessed great dependence upon connectivity of user end devices to the networks like communication, internet or intranet. All of these networks bare similarity in technology standards and protocols in which the backbone communication medium is either offered or influenced by internet protocols. Today, prime objective for technology researchers and providers is to widen the connectivity spectrum of internet by offering robust and performance oriented networks, thus making the developing countries like Pakistan to have more dependency on technology acquisition, rather development. The span of internet technology has not only influenced economic and social sectors but also has influenced defence and national security. The virtual world of cyber has actually being manifested in physical world by technology advancements, adoption and benefits offered. The unfortunate part is that developing nations are mostly neglecting the associated threats and fail to ascertain the spectrum of cyberspace and cyber warfare for national security.

Threat Domains

Discussion here would focus upon the grey areas in understanding cyber warfare threat domains and their possible implications.

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In today's digital world SMNs are considered life line for internet users however these are also being misused for religious extremism, harassment, blackmailing and even sexual exploitation

Versatile threat actors. Intranet and internet based technologies have widened the threat domain with no limits; offensive could be launched from anywhere, any platform and towards any target.

Social Media and Over-The-Top (OTT) Applications. Freely available applications have totally engulfed internet community globally, getting away and operating carefully on these platforms seems impossible, hidden implications of these applications are discussed as follows:[8,9,10]

- **Data Collection.** Users wilfully share personal data, identify family/friends, identify liking/disliking, chats and calls etc. Just imagine, how much efforts would be required to get all of this information at such a massive scale. Preparation of individual's personal profile could take no time as mostly information shared by a person is available online over different social media platforms.
- **Data Analytics.** Recent advancements in Big Data analytics using Artificial Intelligence technologies have paved the way to analyse the massive data stored. Identification of groups / national trends and psychology is no more difficult. Advanced algorithms would take minutes to discretely analyse the national perspective / opinion on critical issues to ascertain national cohesion, stability, security and state of preparedness (readiness / support to military efforts against hostile nations/ groups, acceptance / rejection of state policies, national morale etc.).
- **Conduit for Hostile Propaganda.** Extensive usage of social media has empowered hostile agencies / groups and individuals, a comparatively easier platform to explode nefarious agenda – with no effective provision to stop the propagation or even to identify the source. Strong resistance from internet users' community also restricts any preventive effort. The seriousness would increase manifolds in the presence of hostile actors creating hostile environment.
- **Restricts Intelligence Efforts.** User privacy policies, protection acts and treaties have limited the efforts of intelligence agencies. Use of advanced encryption technologies has also allowed the hostile / subverted groups, individuals and agents to remain undetected.
- **No Control on Users.** In today's digital world SMNs are considered life line for internet users however, these are also being misused for religious extremism, harassment, blackmailing and even sexual exploitation. Ethical and cultural issues generated through these networks are difficult to address due to identity issues, lack of cooperation from service providers, legal restrictions and hectic complaint resolution procedures involved. SMNs offer excellent medium to create law and order / anarchy in the society where it would be difficult for the stakeholders to control / block its usage due to strong resentment from the digital rights activists and even from the online community as a whole.

Cybersecurity and Technology. Cybersecurity is heavily dependent upon technology including high performance operating systems, user end devices, network switches / routers, data storage security systems and devices. Significant concerns in this regard are as follows:[11,12]

- **Auto Discloses Network and Security Architecture.** Network and security devices need certification / authentication from Original Equipment Manufacturer (OEM). Mostly the

Cybersecurity is heavily dependent upon technology including high performance operating systems, user end devices, network switches / routers, data storage security systems and devices

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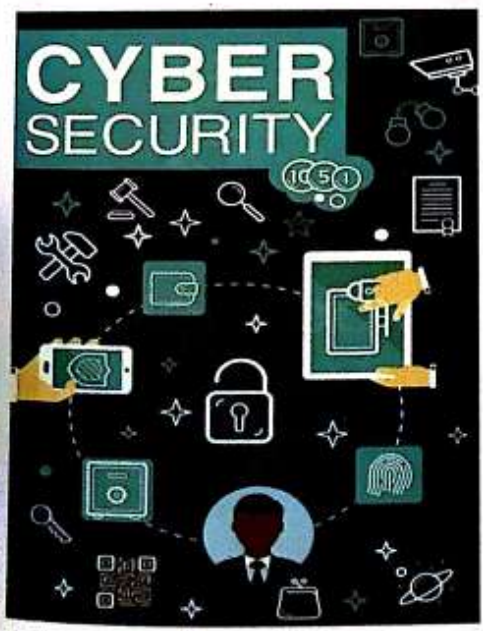
Cyber Security has witnessed tremendous progress, developments in IT have always brought new dimensions to security. The primary factor is "dependence brings vulnerabilities which create opportunities to exploit"

Technology giants are immune from any blames/responsibilities incurred due to any security breach, as they say, "no network/system is totally secure, security is dependent upon vigilant monitoring by humans and who are prone to errors"

mechanism is ensured by exchange of certain security credentials such as certificates, equipment IDs etc. Online connectivity of these devices could provide network design information to OEM, hostile usage of which is a great concern.

- **Live Cyber Threat Sharing.** Sharing of live threat/ attack detection with OEM is the significant feature of most security systems and devices (antivirus, firewall, Intrusion Detection Systems etc.). The mechanism has the hostile exploitation possibility associated such as covert sharing of attack information with intruders, providing information about level of protection offered (what all attacks are and can be detected) and even lower the guards. Such exploitation is of no surprise in cyber warfare scenarios.
- **Dependence on Regular Updates.** Proactive Cyber Security is a necessity, however, the concept is implemented in a reactive mode. Cyber Security OEMs creates patches and updates of their systems and devices on detection of some errors / flaws in products, operating systems or even on identifying novel successful attacks. These patches if applied in time could prevent a breach, however failing to do so could lead to significant damage. Intent based manipulation of such act cannot be ruled out. Transparency in this process becomes extremely important in air-gapped networks in which any delay or unauthorized acts (injection of hacking code, denial of service or even network sabotage etc.) could be catastrophic. Patch management in closed network is also a difficult task and requires evaluation process and record keeping. Mismanagement in the process could also result into system loss or compromise.



- **No Liability on OEM in Case of Security Loss.** Technology giants are immune from any blames / responsibilities incurred due to any security breach, as they say, "no network / system is totally secure, security is dependent upon vigilant monitoring by humans and who are prone to errors". Large number of cybersecurity incidents happen daily, knowingly not a single OEM (technology) was held responsible for the breach, and technology users (network designer and security expert) always got penalized.
- **Cyber Security Progression Continues.** Cyber Security has witnessed tremendous progress, developments in IT have always brought new dimensions to security. The journey has started from antivirus and passed through many phases of security software and hardware products development, the journey still continues with no end point or finish line. The primary factor is "dependence brings vulnerabilities which create opportunities to exploit".
- **R&D Collaboration of International OEM's with India.** The country has offered better infrastructure and cheaper trained workforce in cyber and cyber security. Many reputed firms have established R&D bases in Indian universities and other public / private sector organizations / firms. Indian hegemonic influence to these companies for strategic and tactical gains by exploitation of our national cyberspace cannot be ruled out.

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Benefits has made internet the backbone communication media even for critical national assets banking/ finance, power/ energy, communication, diplomacy etc. Internet connectivity has increased the threat spectrum

- **National Certification and Accreditation Process.** Limited control has been implemented by Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) on usage of mobile phones in Pakistan. Mobile phones are approved by PTA on completion of customs and taxation formalities. The process is incomplete and do not include technical evaluation of mobile phones to identify bugs/ implants and hacking software installed, probability of presence for hostile purpose is quite high. Certification and Accreditation process has been adopted by most of the countries, standards are formulated to ensure procurement of requisite technology for civil and military purposes. The process also includes evaluation of other ICT systems and devices such as laptops, computers, storage devices, network and security devices etc.

Vital National Assets on Internet. High bandwidth, speed, coverage, connectivity, availability, lower cost and other benefits has made internet the backbone communication media even for critical national assets banking/ finance, power/ energy, communication, diplomacy etc. Internet connectivity has increased the threat spectrum, few concerns associated are discussed below:[19]

- **National Cyber Security Policy.** Efforts are in place since long to develop a consensus based cyber security policy in the country but unfortunately could not be materialized so far. Absence of such a critical policy has created the strategic vacuum in cyber security landscape of the country.
- **National Firewall.** Cyber Security is the collective responsibility in which every tier from user to network security administrator, organization to service provider and relevant national stake holders have to perform certain tasks in which most important is the security technology adoption / usage. The task is mostly being performed at organizational and lower levels – absence of appropriate technology at service provider and national levels has increased the threat spectrum to critical assets.
- **Emergency and Incident Response.** National level IT crisis management is an important responsibility domain, mostly Computer Emergency Response Teams (CERT) are created at all levels to handle the crisis. Collective effort is needed among all teams to generate comprehensive response, absence of CERT at national level has created a vacuum and any unfortunate incident could affect performance and availability of critical assets. Absence of effective national level CERT has also compounded the threat spectrum.
- **Monitoring Mechanism.** Mostly organizations relying on ICT have developed mechanisms for protection of data and ensure availability of resources, however, lack of policy defining necessity of audit and monitoring of security parameters by independent (third party) organizations has created a vacuum.

Risk associated with CCTV cameras of home / office or property available through internet on a mob phone devices, control of security systems and house hold devices need consideration

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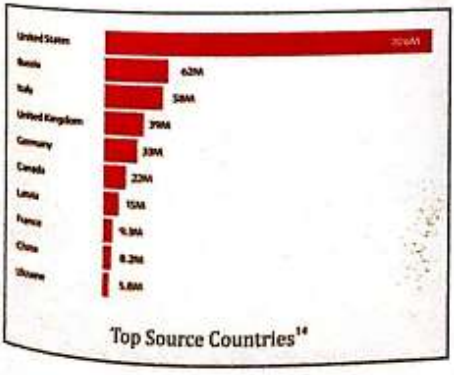
Russian successful experiment of 'sovereign internet', where in an emergency situation, national internet can work independently, irrespective of the global connectivity could bring some lessons for us to ponder upon

- **Future Technologies.** High speed internet technology 5G and IoT have already demonstrated the strength of internet for house hold purposes etc. Risk associated with CCTV cameras of home / office or property available through internet on a mob phone devices, control of security systems and house hold devices need consideration.
- **Implications of Internet Unavailability.** Hostile security environments due to internal disturbances or trans-frontier aggressions could result into digital isolation in which Pakistan cyberspace could be disconnected from global internet. The situation must be detrimental due to massive dependence upon the internet media by government and private sectors (education, economic, finance, communication etc.). The situation is further aggravated due to a single landing site at Karachi offering connectivity to international submarine cables. Russian successful experiment of 'sovereign internet', where in an emergency situation, national internet can work independently, irrespective of the global connectivity, could bring some lessons for us to ponder upon.

Cyber Warfare Around the World

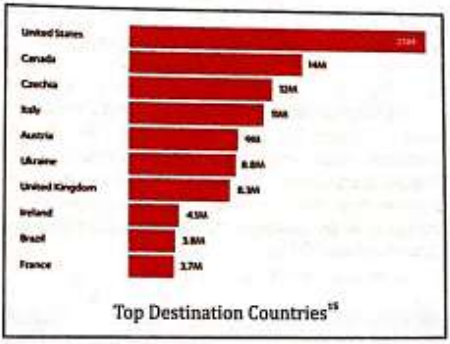
It is always interesting is to have a look at which countries' IP spaces attacks came from and which countries they were directed at.



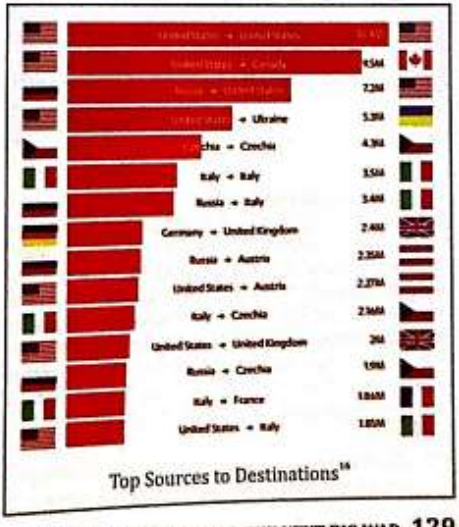
Top Source Countries[14]

Traffic originating in the US IP space grabbed the largest share at this time, with Russia coming second, at a far distance. Of course, as we always point out, there is no way of knowing whether the attacks are actually conceived in a given country, since cyber criminals route their attacks through proxies to avoid detection. They may employ VPNs, Tor ('The Onion Router', free and open-source software for enabling anonymous communication), and compromised machines or infrastructure in different locations to evade law enforcement.

The list of countries is not meant to imply that this is predominantly a nation state behaviour. The motivation behind the majority of these attacks is likely financial and instigated by common cyber criminals who are carrying out Distributed Denial-of-Service (DDoS) attacks and sending malware, etc. What we can be more certain of, however, is the attack destinations, and these are the countries who attracted the most interest from attackers.



Top Destination Countries[15]



Top Sources to Destinations[16]

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Cyber warfare bare similarity to different strategies of conventional war, in which similar objectives could also be identified to destroy or disable war fighting capability, economic, power, communication and government sectors of the target nation or region

Strategic Aspects and Implementation Modalities
Cyber Warfare Strategies

Cyber warfare must be seen in the context of war in general. Conventional war involves different categories of actions falling within ambit of strategic, tactical and operational activities. These categories are primarily differentiated by impact required from a military action and employment of forces and weaponry. Cyber warfare bare similarity to different strategies of conventional war, in which similar objectives could also be identified to destroy or disable war fighting capability, economic, power, communication and government sectors of the target nation or region. Actors involved in such acts are state sponsored cyber criminals to trained cyber soldiers. Terrorists and rogue criminals could also be employed in cyber domain to attain military benefits. Following are the different strategies of Offensive and Defensive Cyber Warfare:[17,18,19]

A well trained and equipped military cyber force is required for attacking and destruction. Preferably, force comprised of military and civilian experts progressively groomed over years

Catastrophic Cyber Offensive. A well planned and organized cyber offensive activities to totally destroy adversary's military ICT capabilities (communication, battle field management systems and decision support/ making networks), ICT dependent government and private sectors (economic, financial, communication, development etc.), create a nation-wide impact and making recovery of the ICT assets impossible or exceeding planned timeframe. Factors affecting execution of such operations are:-

- A well trained and equipped military cyber force is required for attacking and destruction. Preferably, force comprised of military and civilian experts progressively groomed over years.
- Necessitated specialized skillset, mental capabilities and in-depth understanding of ICT programming, software / hardware knowledge, cyber security technology and vulnerabilities identification.
- Proactive target identification, reconnaissance, penetration and persistence are needed with absolute accuracy. Objective is to create strategic / tactical imbalance by striking, damaging and destroying when ordered.
- Kinetic effects are foreseen, mostly the attacks are launched to achieve destruction through cyber sabotage, system malfunction (misguide friends and foe), prolonged denial of service / networks unavailability and either making information/ data unavailable or tempered.
- Backdoor channels, connection with underworld (deep and dark web), objective intelligence efforts seems essential in force development and execution.
- Could be executed in isolation or in support to conventional military strive.
- Identification of zero-day vulnerabilities and development of Advance Persistent Threats (APTs) fall in this strategy.
- In few situations, assistance from ground forces is mandatory to attain results (filling the gap of air gapped networks).
- Such activities are extremely heavy on finances as millions of dollars are required for specialized skills development / trainings, sustenance, technology development etc. – very few nations could afford to execute this strategy however this could be considered as a benchmark to attain excellence.

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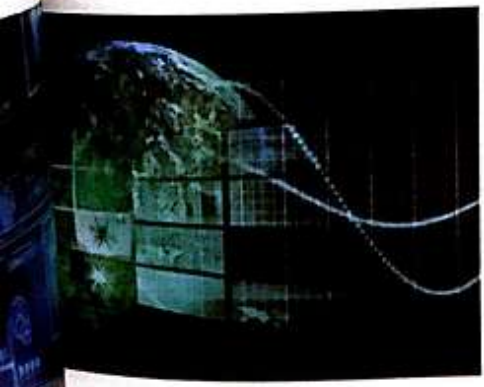
Well planned and organized cyber offensive activities to cripple or damage selected adversary's military ICT capabilities, ICT dependent government and private sectors create a regional/ zonal impact and making recovery of the ICT assets difficult not impossible

Extensive Cyber Offensive. Well planned and organized cyber offensive activities to cripple or damage selected adversary's military ICT capabilities (communication, battle field management systems and decision support/ making networks), ICT dependent government and private sectors (economic, financial, communication, development etc.), create a regional/ zonal impact and making recovery of the ICT assets difficult not impossible. Factors affecting execution of such operations are:-

- This is a level below Catastrophic Cyber Offensive. It has reduced kinetic impact and may cause prolonged outage of critical systems and infrastructure.
- Well trained work force on ICT programming, software / hardware knowledge, cyber security technology and vulnerabilities identification is needed.
- Cyber warriors selected for the higher level are primarily filtered at this stage. Critical decisions are required for progression towards higher level because of complexity and finances involved there. Deciding factor could be whether the strategy fulfils the operational requirements or has given the expected outcome.



Open source resources provide quite good offensive tools to cyber stalkers in targeted operations. Major effort required is to bypass the antivirus detection and conceal footsteps

- Proactive target identification, reconnaissance, penetration and persistence are needed with absolute accuracy. Objective is to create tactical imbalance by striking and damaging when ordered.
- Preferably the strategy could be developed and executed for intelligence based objectives and in coordination with military endeavour.
- Foreseeable impacts are partial unavailability and critical delays, losing trust on deliverance and accuracy (decision support systems) and persistent foot hold for data espionage.
- Strategy is suitable against nations and militaries dependent upon ICT for operational tasks.
- Comparatively less financial heavy approach and most suitable for developing nations / militaries.

Targeted Cyber Offensive. A well planned and organized cyber offensive activity for covert data/ information acquisition, data modification or create denial of service and system/ resource unavailability. The objectives of strategy could be acquisition of critical documents and letters, official and personal data research and trade secrets, military operational plans and financial data. The act is conducted by military, intelligence agents, state sponsored cyber activists and hired hackers. Factors affecting execution of such operations are:-

- Conventional hacking strategy to attain ingress into personal / official systems and networks connected over the internet.
- Trojans and Malware are major arsenals in this strategy. Techniques employed are social engineering, spear phishing, phishing and similar attacks.
- Technologies employed in this are from low to moderate levels. Open source resources provide quite good offensive tools to cyber stalkers in targeted operations. Major effort required is to bypass the antivirus detection and conceal footsteps.
- Comparatively less financial resources are required in this. The strategy also offers outsourcing of Trojans/Malware developments and even assigning the intrusion tasks.

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Sometimes gains acquired from targeted cyber offensive are of immense strategic value and could jeopardize national and military security, personal privacy and even repute

- Mostly cyber security firms focus on detection of this offensive strategy, quite often reports have been published on detection of attack signatures and identification of source of attacks.
- Sometimes gains acquired from targeted cyber offensive are of immense strategic value and could jeopardize national and military security, personal privacy and even repute etc.
- Applicable in internet based environments, no limits and boundaries involved.

Sporadic Cyber Offensive. Activities of cyber criminals, terrorists or rogue elements for personal, financial and subversive gains. The target of activity could be persons (common, military, government etc.), government and private sector ICT systems/ resources. The impact foreseen ranges from data acquisition (espionage), denial of service and system unavailability. Factors affecting execution of such operations are:-

- Less expensive than targeted cyber offensive and mostly does not require hired workforce, training and sustenance.
- Techniques and technologies required are mostly similar to targeted cyber offensive.
- They have little lasting impact on organizations except network / system unavailability may cause functional delays and disclosure could affect the repute.
- Mostly, criminal and terrorists attempts for personal and financial gains are the prime objectives in this strategy however, support from intelligence agencies on selected targets cannot be ruled out. Political motivation could also be a factor for this strategy.
- Cyber stalkers, launching pads and targets are mostly located within geographical boundaries.

Collective Impermeable Cyber Defence (CICD). A well planned and organized defensive effort involving all national stakeholders to prevent military ICT networks/ capabilities (communication, battle field management systems and decision support/ making networks), ICT dependent government and private sectors (economic, financial, communication, development etc.) from destruction or damage by hostile cyber offensive from aggressor nation/ state, cyber criminals, state/ non state actors, terrorists or rogue elements. Factors affecting execution of such operations are enumerated below:

Military could be assigned the responsibility to operate and manage central monitoring organization

- Well planned and organized layered cyber defence architecture involving all national stakeholders. Requisite technology and human resources is employed at each layer to detect, prevent and respond to cyberattacks.
- Requires well established organization and specific cyber security skill set of employees. The layered defence is centrally monitored at the national internet gateway to have better visibility of cyber offensive against critical ICT infrastructures. In CICD military could be assigned the responsibility to operate and manage central monitoring organization.
- Financially heavy strategy, continuous investment in technology and HR capability building (training and sustenance) is necessary.
- Strategy is mostly suitable for countries developing ICT technology having large reliance on ICT in all sectors and has capability to develop indigenous ICT and security systems and products (mostly in developed part of the world).
- Regional or International cooperation and alliances could be a part of this strategy (support/ assistance between national and regional / international CERTs).

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In absence of national level organization and cyber defence collaboration among stake holders the strategy follows the principle of collective impermeable cyber defence and take over the first/ top security tier

CCD is a offensive defensive strategy to facilitate the defender by giving a befitting response to the offensive strive of adversary by gaining access and acquiring control of their critical systems and networks and attain a strong negotiating posture

Organized Cyber Defence. A well planned and organized defensive effort of individual stakeholders of a national cyberspace (military, government and private sectors) to prevent dependent ICT networks from destruction or damage by hostile cyber offensive from aggressor nation/ state, cyber criminals, state/ non state actors, terrorists or rogue elements. Factors affecting execution of such operations are enumerated below:

- Organization / institution based cyber defence strategy falls at the second tier of cyber defensive efforts and primarily meant to ensure confidentiality, integrity and availability of ICT networks and resources.
- In absence of national level organization and cyber defence collaboration among stake holders, the strategy follows the principle of collective impermeable cyber defence and take over the first/ top security tier.
- Suitable for the countries in which few critical sectors are having reliance on ICT for operational requirements, however, the country / nation have moderate level ICT usage for operational purposes.
- Provide adequate protection to critical infra-structure/systems by adoption of security architecture model such as air-gapped network (connected through own dedicated communi-cation links and not through internet).
- Preferable for those countries making progression in ICT R&D and cyber security, availability of trained workforce could also benefit the strategy.
- Comparatively less financialy heavy and more reliance on credible ICT systems developers and providers.

Counter Cyber Defence (CCD). A well planned defensive-offensive effort to cripple or disable military ICT networks/ capabilities (communication, battle field management systems and decision support/ making networks), ICT dependent government and private sectors (economic, financial, communication, development etc.) in response to aggressive endeavour to attain a strong negotiating posture over aggressor nation/ state or force. Factors affecting execution of such operations are enumerated below:

- CCD is a offensive-defensive strategy to facilitate the defender by giving a befitting response to the offensive strive of adversary by gaining access and acquiring control of their critical systems and networks and attain a strong negotiating posture.
- Collective impermeable and organized cyber defence strategies (both) seems mandatory in successful execution of this, any failure can have a drastic impact over this effort.
- Well organized and trained workforce is needed. Extensive cyber offensive strategy could be the component of this strategy.
- Well thought-out plan incorporating cyber and ground intelligence resources seems mandatory. Long term strategic planning and consistency of efforts seem necessary in it.
- Selection of target (strategic / tactical), acquisition of persistent ingress and attaining exploitation capability well before the hostility breakout would provide necessary advantage.
- Comparatively financially heavy (developing

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Prevailing local laws / instructions on the subject also enhance the defence mechanisms and thwart criminal activities

workforce and technology acquisition), extremely dependent upon ICT support from manufacturer and developer.

Sporadic Cyber Defence. Organized and well planned cyber defence activities to thwart hostile attempts of cyber criminals, terrorists or rogue elements to destroy, damage or cripple adversary's military ICT capabilities (communication, battle field management systems and decision support/ making networks), ICT dependent government and private sectors (economic, financial, communication, development etc.). Factors effecting execution of such operations are enumerated below:

- Well organized effort to secure non-military targets in which cyberattacks are mostly executed to acquire secret / classified data, trade secrets, personal information etc. from computers and mobile phones. Cyber stalking has also been identified as a new offensive activity with respect to this defensive technique.
- The offensive activity could be conducted by novice hacker or an expert resource depending upon the target involved.
- The effort includes development of Trojans and launching these through Social Engineering, Smear Phishing/ Phishing techniques.
- Adherence to organizational/ institutional policies for secure computer and mobile phone usage, antivirus / malware solutions and cyber security awareness could enhance the effort.
- Prevailing local laws / instructions on the subject also enhance the defence mechanisms and thwart criminal activities.

Conclusion

Cyber warfare is a fast-changing warfare due to dynamic nature of cyberspace, therefore the techniques mastered in this warfare are never all-encompassing. Every now and then newer techniques emerge due to emerging technologies. With the boom of social media, AI, crypto currencies and hyper-connectivity etc, new vistas come up periodically. Future wars cannot be won without supremacy in the field of cyber warfare.

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DEVELOPMENT OF RENEWABLE ENERGY IN PAKISTAN: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

Ambassador
Shafkat Kakakhel (Retd)

ABSTRACT

Renewable sources of energy refer to sources that are naturally replenished such as water, sunshine, wind, biomass, and geothermal heat that are increasingly preferred as alternatives to fossil fuels such as coal, oil, and gas, which cause release of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases recognized as the main driver of climate change.

Other than hydropower which was the only source of electricity generation in Pakistan during the first three decades since independence, Pakistan is a new comer in the field of renewable energy. However, it has made significant headway during the past decade and a half in developing policies and institutions for promoting the development and deployment of renewable energy.

This paper describes the evolution of renewable energy in Pakistan from the prism of climate change and argues that by obtaining energy from clean, renewable sources Pakistan will be able to fulfill its obligations under the United Nations Climate Change Convention of 1992 and the Paris Agreement (2015) to reduce its carbon emissions, in addition securing significant financial, environmental and health benefits.

Keywords: Energy, Water, Renewable and Climate.

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Rural to urban migration led to overcrowded cities with poor or no sewerage and sanitation, long hours of work by workers in factories producing or using hazardous chemicals, increased air and water pollution causing waterborne diseases in cities and towns

Introduction

Energy and development are mutually interdependent. Energy derived from fossil fuels had facilitated the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Europe (from 1780 onward) which marked the historic transformation of the predominantly rural communities engaged in basic farming and artisan manufacturing into urban communities producing ever growing quantities of textiles and other goods in factories powered by coal. Discovery, development and deployment of an array of energy sources since the 19th century have played a crucial role in spurring industrialization and modern agriculture, overcoming severe weather constraints, promoting education and scientific research, health education, care and production of vaccines, medicines and medical equipment and hospitals. Major advances were made in transportation, railways, shipping and aviation promoting global trade on a scale not seen before.

While until recently coal remained the largest source of energy for all uses, since the 20th century we have seen the invention, discovery and development as well as utilization of a range of new energy sources such as oil, and electricity generated by hydropower, solar photovoltaic, and more recently, wind and geothermal energy. The second half of the 20th century also saw large amounts of electricity generated by around four hundred nuclear power plants in thirty countries in all regions except Latin America. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) - which had shied away from accepting nuclear power generation as environmentally sound for two and a half decades because of the problem of nuclear waste as well as security imperatives- finally legitimized it as a renewable source in its fifth assessment report (AR5) in 2014.

Whilst the effects of industrialization have been overwhelmingly positive in terms of extending life spans and improving living conditions, energy- driven industrialization and urbanization have also had serious negative consequences. Rural to urban migration led to overcrowded cities with poor or no sewerage and sanitation, long hours of work by

Dozens of countries, especially those having coal deposits set up factories powered by coal or used coal for producing electricity

workers in factories producing or using hazardous chemicals, increased air and water pollution causing waterborne diseases in cities and towns. Wastage of raw material in unsustainable production generated growing waste, which was left untreated causing life threatening pollution. Domestic and industrial waste was freely dumped into rivers, lakes, ponds, and other watercourses which caused their biological collapse. Governments had to adopt an array of preventive and remedial measures, including legislation, for enforcing proper waste disposal and curbing pollution.

Given the indispensable role of energy, largely derived from fossil fuels, in promoting economic development and improved quality of life of citizens in industrialized countries.

Governments of the newly independent nations made determined efforts to produce and install electricity and procure oil and gas for industrialization. The discovery of huge quantities of oil and natural gas in the Persian Gulf and other regions of the world have enabled easy access to petrol and diesel, and the production and use of all types of transport vehicles as well as heating and cooling at homes running factories, hospitals, and schools. Dozens of countries, especially those having coal deposits set up factories powered by coal or used coal for producing electricity.

The 1980s saw an emerging consensus among North American and European scientists and climatologists on a palpable, measurable increase in

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The UN Climate Convention upheld the scientific consensus that climate change had been caused by the release and build- up of greenhouse gases (GHG) emissions, mainly by the three dozen industrialized countries and obliged them to take the lead in reducing the emissions in order to stabilize the climate

surface and ocean temperatures. Their investigations convinced them that the increase in temperature had been caused by the accumulation of huge quantities of greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous dioxide in the atmosphere due to the burning of fossil fuels for producing energy since the start of the Industrial Revolution. Scientists believed that the increase in temperature and destabilization of climate compared to pre-industrial times posed serious risks to humankind and the natural biosphere and eco-systems.

Evolution of the Global Climate Change Agenda

In 1988, the UN Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Metrological Organization (WMO) jointly established the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) to assess the scientific, technical, and socio- economic information relevant for the understanding of the risk of human-induced climate change, its potential impacts and options for mitigation and adaptation. Scores of scientists and economists from all parts of the world contributed to the work of the IPCC.[1]

The first report of the IPCC issued in 1990 served to inform the inter-governmental negotiations convened by the UN General Assembly on climate change, which culminated at the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio (Brazil) in June 1992 with the adoption of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The Convention came into effect in 1994 and remains the essential basis of the global Climate Agenda. The UNFCC Secretariat organizes annual meetings of the Conference of Parties (COPs) of the Convention which are attended by thousands of delegates representing governments, international organizations, energy industry, and civil society.

The Kyoto Protocol triggered efforts by the international community to reduce carbon emissions through enhanced energy use efficiency as well as development of carbon- free renewable sources of energy such as solar photo voltaic, wind energy produced by turbines on land, as well as off shore, and biomass

The UN Climate Convention upheld the scientific consensus that climate change had been caused by the release and build-up of greenhouse gases (GHG) emissions, mainly by the three dozen industrialized countries and obliged them to take the lead in reducing the emissions in order to stabilize the climate. Developed countries also agreed to provide financial, technical and technological assistance to the developing countries to adapt to the negative effects of climate change on their economies and adopt climate - friendly energy policies.[2]

The adoption of the UNFCCC triggered an explosion of activities throughout the world concerning climate change, including the establishment of climate research centers in the developed countries and greater attention being paid to climate change by the ministries of environment and foreign affairs, and closer consultations among governments in Europe as well as North America on matters relating to climate change.

The first agreement (Protocol) for implementing the UNFCCC was adopted in December 1997 in the Japanese city of Kyoto and bearing its name where, by thirty eight (38) developed countries agreed to reduce their GHG emissions by an average of 5% below the 1990 level, by 2012 before a new agreement is put in place. (The United States did not ratify the Protocol).[3]

The Kyoto Protocol triggered efforts by the international community to reduce carbon emissions through enhanced energy use efficiency as well as development of carbon-free renewable sources of energy such as solar photo voltaic, wind energy produced by turbines on land as well as off shore, and biomass. Governments encouraged greater investments in research on reducing the cost of production and improving storage, and transmission and distribution of renewable energy such as solar and wind. At the global level, governments established institutions such as the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA based in Abu Dhabi) to assist

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During the past decade or so, the cost of producing all kinds of renewable energy has gone down while significant progress has been made in storage of solar and wind power, given the intermittent nature of solar and wind energy

developing countries in promoting development and utilization of renewable energy. The international finance institutions such as the World Bank and Regional Development Banks supplemented funding by some developed countries for enabling developing countries to increase their use of renewable energy. Development assistance decisions were increasingly shaped by climate change-related imperatives.

During the past decade or so, the cost of producing all kinds of renewable energy has gone down while significant progress has been made in storage of solar and wind power, given the intermittent nature of solar and wind energy. However, carbon emissions globally have increased unabatedly. Meanwhile, the number of extreme weather events such as hurricanes, heat waves, floods and droughts in all parts of the world linked by the scientists to climate change has also grown exponentially. The average global surface temperature has gone up by one degree Celsius.[4]

The Paris Climate Change Agreement (2015)

The third and most recent international agreement on climate change was adopted by representatives of around 195 UN member states at the twenty first (21st) conference of parties to the UNFCCC (COP 21) held in Paris.The Paris Agreement deals with the key elements of global climate action, namely mitigation, adaptation, finance, technology development and transfer, support to developing countries for building their capacities, and international cooperation on climate related matters.[5]

The Paris Agreement's provisions concerning mitigation represent a major deviation from the UNFCC. Under the Convention, thirty eight advanced countries had made a legally binding commitment to carry out major reductions in their carbon emissions, while developing countries were expected to adopt climate friendly development trajectory on a voluntary basis that would not entail large GHG emissions. The Paris Agreement requires reductions in GHG emissions by all countries-developed or developing, large or small, that have ratified the Agreement according to quantities and arrangements determined by them

The Paris Agreement also established mechanisms for promoting capacity development and facilitating development and transfer of technology to developing countries

according to their national circumstances. All parties were to formally notify to the UN their carbon reductions, described as Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) in 2015, to be revised upward subsequently. The mitigation measures promised in the INDCs are subject to monitoring and verification according to agreed global procedures.[6]

The Paris Agreement formally established the mechanisms of global climate action that had been agreed during the annual meetings of parties to the UNFCC. These included the Green Climate Fund (GCF) for which the developed countries pledged to collectively mobilize USD 100 billion annually. The GCF was to become fully operational from 2020 onward. The agreement also maintained the Adaptation Fund established earlier but did not approve any additional funding for it.

The Paris Agreement also established mechanisms for promoting capacity development and facilitating development and transfer of technology to developing countries.

Notably, during the COP 21, participating governments and multilateral agencies announced the establishment of dozens of partnerships for climate change-related cooperation. One of the partnerships

World leaders at 2015 UN Climate Change Conference

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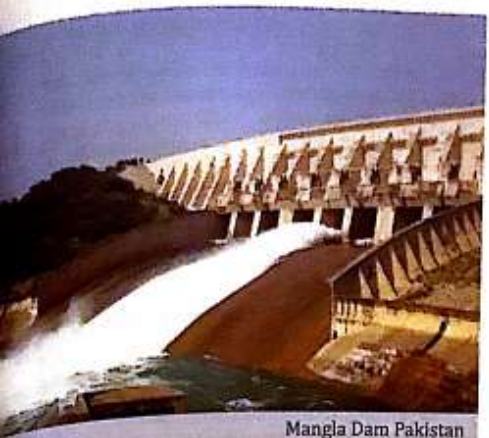

Mangla Dam Pakistan

Civil works linked to the Indo- Pakistan Indus Waters Treaty were meant to compensate Pakistan for the permanent loss of three eastern rivers, which had irrigated most of its irrigated lands but had been allocated to India

relating to renewable energy- the International Solar Alliance- was jointly launched by France and India. The ISA aims at setting the ground rules, norms and standards of solar energy in order to facilitate a rapid and massive deployment of solar energy in countries that are rich in solar resources but have not yet developed them.[7]

The Sustainable Development Goals and Targets Concerning Energy

A special session of the UN General Assembly held in New York in September 2015 approved a set of goals and targets called Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which had been intergovernmentally negotiated over two years and represents the UN's 2030 Development Agenda.

SDG 7 defines the global energy goals as follows:

- By 2030, ensure universal access to affordable and reliable modern energy services.
- By 2030, increase substantially the share of renewable energy in the global energy mix. The three targets related to SDG 7 are:

  - **Target 7.1**

    "By 2030, ensure universal access to affordable, reliable, and modern energy services".

  - **Target 7.2**

    "By 2030, increase substantially the share of renewable energy in the global energy mix".

  - **Target 7.3**

    "By 2030 double the global rate of improvement in energy efficiency. The International Energy Agency (IEA). The International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), the UN Statistics Division, the World Bank, the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Energy Sector Management Assistance Program will serve as the designated custodian agencies for the achievement of SDG 7".[8]

Pakistan' Energy Landscape: an Overview

At independence, Pakistan had a total power generation capacity of Sixty (60) MW in the public sector. By the time it established the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) in 1959, it's electricity production capacity had gone up to 119 which increased further when the Warsak Dam on the Kabul River near Peshawar funded by Canada became operational. Pakistan built its first large hydropower project whose power generating capacity at present stands at 1310 MW in 1967 in Mangla on the Jhelum River. The dam was part of civil works linked to the Indo-Pakistan Indus Waters Treaty (signed in September 1960). The civil works (dams, barrages, link canals) were meant to compensate Pakistan for the permanent loss of three eastern rivers, which had irrigated most of its irrigated lands but had been allocated to India. The electricity produced by hydropower plants on the dams came as a much welcome gift. Subsequently a second, larger hydropower dam along the Indus in Tarbela with a total

Demand for electricity grew at a feverish speed during the period 1990-91 to 2004/5 as a result of population explosion accompanied by urbanization, industrialization, large scale use of electricity in households and the farming and transport sectors

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According to some experts, electricity generation projects constituted three-quarters of the CPEC Phase 1 portfolio and coal- based power producing projects formed three quarters of the energy projects

capacity at present of 3478 MW was completed in 1976. The Tarbela multipurpose dam was also funded from the Indus Basin Fund established under the Indus Waters Treaty. Meanwhile, Pakistan had discovered large natural gas deposits initially in a place called Sui in Balochistan and subsequently in Punjab, Sindh, and more recently in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Natural Gas has made large addition to Pakistan's energy stock but its production has not kept pace with either demand or distribution capacity. By end 1994, electricity generation capacity had gone up to 11000 MW.

Demand for electricity grew at a feverish speed during the period 1990-91 to 2004/5 as a result of population explosion accompanied by urbanization, industrialization, large scale use of electricity in households and the farming and transport sectors. Pakistan began to experience shortages of electricity supply during 2005-6; the demand- supply gap reached 15% in 2008 leading to power outages called "load shedding". The energy deficit adversely affected the industrial sector and forced a large number of textile factories to ease production or relocate to Bangladesh.

The Government resorted to a range of measures to increase electricity production, including the inclusion of coal-based power generation in the first phase of the development of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). According to some experts, electricity generation projects constituted three-quarters of the CPEC Phase 1 portfolio and coal- based power producing projects formed three quarters of the energy projects.

Electricity generation capacity has reached 35000 MW and is growing.There is no let up in efforts to augment electricity generation.Demand for power is expected to grow 9% annually while the country's domestic natural gas production is depleting rapidly.[9]

Efforts by Pakistan to Promote Alternative and Renewable Energy Resources

The establishment of the Alternative and Renewable Energy Development Board (AEDB) in May 2003 as an autonomous statutory body marks the start of efforts by Pakistan to develop and deploy alternative and renewable energy in Pakistan. The AEDB's mandate was to develop policies, programs, and projects for development of alternative and renewable energy through the private sector and to encourage transfer of technology and local manufacturing of renewable energy equipment. In 2006 AEDB was placed under the Ministry of Water and Power. The same year the Government issued the country's first 'Policy for Development of Renewable Energy for Power Generation'. The objectives of the policy were:

- Increase deployment of renewable energy technologies.
- Promote private sector investment in renewable energy technology through incentives and by developing a renewable energy market.
- Develop measures to mobilize financing for renewable energy projects.
- Facilitate the development of domestic manufacturing capacity of technologies for renewable energy in order to reduce costs of production, improve service while generating employment and enhancing local technical skills.
- Increase per capita energy consumption and social welfare, especially in the remote rural areas where poverty can be alleviated and the burden on women for collecting biomass fuel can be reduced.
- Promote protection of the environment.[10]

The 2006 AED Policy invited private investors to submit proposals in the following categories:

- For selling power to the grid exclusively (IPP Projects)
- For self use as well as sale to the grid.
- For small scale stand alone projects.

China Power Hub Generation Company's (CPHGC) 1320MW coal-fired power project in Balochistan under the CPEC is now operational

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Pakistan hosted the first ever Renewable Energy Summit on August 26-27, 2019 in Islamabad in collaboration with the World Wind Association and the Global 100% RE Platform

The Policy mentioned that no agreements or approval of government was needed for producing energy from renewable sources. Moreover, the import of equipment for renewable energy projects was exempted from payment of custom duty. Profits by the investment was exempted from Income Tax.

According to the 2006 Renewable Energy Policy investors were expected to focus on small hydro (up to 50 MW), solar photovoltaic and Thermal wind power. The production target was 9700MW by 2030 representing 10% of the total stock in the country.

The 2006 ARE policy offered several fiscal and financial incentives to investors.These included: provision of grid connection and interconnection by the power purchaser; guaranteed market through mandatory purchase of all electricity; exemption from all taxes and levies, and repatriation of equity along with dividends freely allowed subject to rules and regulations issued by the State Bank of Pakistan.

Despite its limited capacity, the AEDB has promoted over 145 renewable energy projects, including 15 wind plants producing 782 MW of electricity and concluded 11 new agreements for wind energy.The AEDB also played an important role in promoting the multiple benefits of renewable energy, especially solar, wind, small hydro, and biomass."

Pakistan Vision 2025

In 2014 the Government developed a long-term development blue-print called Pakistan Vision 2025, which contained goals and targets relating to various sectors of the economy and major elements of socio-economic development. The Vision document set twenty five (25) goals to be achieved by 2025.The goals related to energy are noted below:

- Increase energy generation to 45000 MW by 2025 to provide uninterrupted and affordable electricity and increase electricity access from 57% to 90% of the population by 2025.
- Achieve a 25% reduction in the per unit cost of production by improving energy mix and reducing distribution losses.

The new targets for renewable energy include generating 8000 MW of electricity by 2025 and 20000 by 2030 representing 20 and 30% of Pakistan's energy from renewable sources

- Increase share of indigenous sources of power generation to 50%.
- Neither the government which had spearheaded the crafting of the Vision 2025 document nor its successor seems to have integrated the objectives, goals and targets enshrined in the blueprint in their budgetary allocations."

Pakistan hosted the first ever Renewable Energy Summit on August 26-27, 2019 in Islamabad in collaboration with the World Wind Association and the Global 100% RE Platform. The summit proceedings were attended by a large number of entrepreneurs engaged or interested in establishing renewable energy projects.

Alternative and Renewable Energy (ARE) Policy 2020

On August 12, 2020 Mr Omar Ayub Khan, the Federal Power Minister and the Federal Science and Technology Minister Fawad Chaudhry formally announced a new Alternative and Renewable Energy Policy prepared by the M/O Energy (Power Division) and approved by the Federal Cabinet in November 20. The new Policy is said to be based on lessons from the implementation of the 2006 ARE Policy and takes on board the global technological advances in renewable energy technologies and best practices. Extensive consultations by the Federal Government with the four provinces as well as Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan preceded the formal launching of the policy.

The new targets for renewable energy include generating 8000 MW of electricity by 2025 and 20000 by 2030 representing 20 and 30% of Pakistan's energy from renewable sources. The Power Minister mentioned that along with hydropower, by 2025 the combined share of renewable energy and hydropower in our energy stock would be 52% and reach 63% by 2030.

According to the new policy, the government will periodically announce the production targets, provide the sites, identify the type of renewable energy and invite bids by local and international investors. The cost factor will be decisive in the award of contracts.

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The northern region and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa offer immense potential and multiple sites for small hydro projects of varying sizes. The plains and deserts of the central region receive ample sunshine suitable for solar power. Wind potential is largely concentrated in the Sindh and Baluchistan provinces

Minister Omar Ayub also announced the Government's resolve to actively promote domestic manufacturing of solar panels and wind turbines.

The scope of renewable sources includes solar, wind, biomass, geothermal, ocean/ tidal wave technology, energy from all kinds of waste, hydrogen or synthetic gas."

According to Pakistan's Economic Survey 2019-20, the Government of Pakistan's strategic objectives of affordability of electricity, energy security, availability for all, environmental protection, sustainable development, social equity, and mitigation of climate change will further be harnessed under the new ARE Policy 20."

The Economic Survey mentions that "the most significant feature of the policy is that it makes a transition from the traditional methods of procurement based on cost plus and upfront tariffs to competitive bidding". All new RE projects specifically wind and solar power projects, will be developed through competitive bidding. Under the new policy, import of all equipment, machinery and manufacturing material will be exempted from payment of duty.No income tax will be charged on the earnings of the renewable energy projects. Notably, the survey mentions that the World Bank was developing a strategy for the implementation of the new AED Policy and has agreed to organize auctions for securing competitive bidding for renewable power generation, including localization of manufacturing technology and advanced R&D.

Ground-breaking of Mohmand Dam

On July 16, 2020 the Prime Minister launched the construction of the Diamer Basha Hydroelectric Dam on the Indus with a capacity of producing 4500 MW of electricity. The multi-purpose dam is being built with China's financial support

Overview of Renewable Energy Resources in Pakistan

Pakistan has abundant renewable energy resources which can be used for power generations. The main resources are hydropower, solar energy, wind energy, and bioenergy. The northern region and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa offer immense potential and multiple sites for small hydro projects of varying sizes. The plains and deserts of the central region receive ample sunshine suitable for solar power. Wind potential is largely concentrated in the Sindh and Balochistan provinces. The extensive farming sector in Pakistan generates large amounts of residue suitable for power generation, Pakistan has recently received generous support from the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation, the Asian Development Bank, Japan, Germany and China. The broad details of developments pertaining to the major renewable resources are noted below.

Hydropower

Hydropower is one of the oldest and cheapest resources for electricity generation projects of all sizes. In fact during the first three decades of independent Pakistan, hydropower was the only resource for producing electricity. While the majority of hydropower plants were established and are operated by the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA), more recently the private sector has also made significant investments in hydropower

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Based on scientific investigations, the Gharo- Keti Bandar wind corridor in southern region was prioritized by the Government at the very beginning of renewable energy development in the country

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Solar Energy

The southern and south western parts of Pakistan have higher irradiation levels than the north.The highest global horizontal irradiance is in southwest Pakistan. Balochistan is the site of country's maximum annual global irradiance at just over 2300 kWh per square meter (m^2).

The solar energy sector is poised to become a major resource following the completion of 400 MW of solar PV projects in 2015-2016 and several large projects during 2017-2018 and subsequently. The Punjab, Sindh and KP provinces have issued scores of Letters of Intent for solar power generation. Pakistan has also seen a mushroom growth of enterprises for providing solar power systems to households, large farms, and small and medium size factories.

Wind Energy

The US National Renewable Energy Laboratory had created a wind map of Pakistan based on satellite data which encouraged efforts to exploit wind energy potential in Pakistan. In 2017, the World Bank - Energy Sector Management Assessment Program (ESMAP) produced more precise solar and wind atlases for Pakistan as part of their world atlases which are based on ground - level features such as wind speed measurement using wind masts of various heights at different locations.

Based on scientific investigations, the Gharo-Keti Bandar wind corridor in southern region was prioritized by the government at the very beginning of renewable energy development in the country. Consequently, the bulk of Pakistan's installed wind power is concentrated in this corridor. However, the Punjab Government's Power Development Board has identified and earmarked a location in Southern Punjab for a 1000MW wind farm. The Letter of Intent for the first project with a capacity to produce 250 MW of electricity has been issued to a Danish wind power developer.

The IFC and the Ministry of Energy have signed agreement regarding USD 500 million worth of investment for building six wind energy projects with combined capacity to produce 310 MW of electricity in the Jhimpir Corridor. This will bring wind energy projects co-financed by IFC to eleven.

Bioenergy

The third part of the World Bank-ESMAP Renewable Energy Mapping Project for Pakistan deals with bioenergy resources.The final biomass atlas, completed in 2016, has two components: theoretical biomass feedstock potential based on land use classification using satellite images and ground survey analysis, and technical feedstock potential based on ground survey results for current utilization patterns of harvest residue.

The biomass feedstock available from industrial processes includes: maize husk, rice husk, corn cob and bagasse. Biomass feedstock from agricultural residue includes rice straw, sugar cane trash, wheat straw, cotton stalk and maize stock

The biomass feedstock available from industrial processes includes: maize husk, rice husk, corn cob and bagasse. Biomass feedstock from

Wind Power Project Jamshoro Pakistan

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The development and utilization of alternative and renewable sources of energy promotes socio- economic development and poverty eradication in the far flung regions by providing gainful employment to people, making it unnecessary to leave homes and hearths in search of jobs in cities located far from their homes

agricultural residue includes rice straw, sugar cane trash, wheat straw, cotton stalk and maize stock.

By December 2016, four sugar mills had bagasse power generation units with a combined installed capacity of 145 MW. In addition 216 MW capacity was close to completion. A number of additional sugar mills have installed power generating capacity during the recent years.[16]

Conclusions

The development and utilization of alternative and renewable sources of energy offer multiple benefits to Pakistan including the following:

- The development and deployment of the major or a large share of the country's energy supply will enable Pakistan to carry out its obligation as a responsible member of the international community to the global effort to phase out of fossil fuel-based energy, which has created the global threat of climate change. Pakistan can obtain financial and technical assistance from the multilateral windows established under the UN climate change agreements, especially the Green Climate Fund.
- Reduction in the cost of imported oil and gas. According to figures quoted by the State Bank of Pakistan, the cost of Pakistan's petroleum and gas imports has ranged between USD 17 billion (in 2016), USD 23 (in 2017) and USD 29 (in 2018). During the past five years the expenditure on imported hydrocarbons amounted to USD 22.4 billion in 2019.
- Increase in total supply of energy.
- Does not require any raw material apart from solar panels, batteries, and turbines for wind energy.
- Production of power from renewable sources does not involve use of any contaminants and does not generate any risky byproducts.
- Specially suitable for providing power to communities in the remote, mountainous and high altitude regions where extension and maintenance of grid are enormously costly.
- Promotes socio-economic development and poverty eradication in the far flung regions by providing gainful employment to people, making it unnecessary to leave homes and hearths in search of jobs in cities located far from their homes.
- The development and installation of clean energy benefits the domestic environment by reducing air pollution caused by fossil fuel-based energy; prevents waste of water that is used for all non-renewable sources of power generation.

Apart from signifying Pakistan's sincerity in contributing to the global climate action, the integration of the new Alternative and Renewable Energy Policy would secure broader support for the success of our energy policy from the international community

Recommendations

The Government should integrate the new Alternative and Renewable Energy Policy in its over all climate change policies and strategies, including its revised Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) being finalized prior to the Climate Change Conference in 2021 in Glasgow. Apart from signifying Pakistan's sincerity in contributing to the global climate action, the integration of the new Alternative and Renewable Energy Policy would secure broader support for the success of our energy policy from the international community.

In April 2018 the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) published its report captioned 'PAKISTAN: RENEWABLES READINESS ASSESSMENT' which contains the most comprehensive review of efforts made by the Government of Pakistan since 2003 to promote the development and utilization of energy produced from domestically available renewable resources. The report comprises a detailed critique of the Policy for Development of Renewable Energy adopted in 2006. The report examined the state of development of four major resources, namely, hydropower, solar energy, wind energy, and Bioenergy. It also reviews the policies and initiatives of the government for promoting clean renewable energy.

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Renewable energy zoning would help in alleviating concerns about using the existing government grid for renewable energy transmission

The most useful chapter of the IRENA report is Chapter 04 captioned 'Challenges and Recommendations for Renewable Energy Deployment'.

The report recalls that in "2009 the Energy Experts Group, constituted by the Economic Advisory Council and Ministry of Finance, developed the Integrated Energy Plan 2009 – 2022 targeting 17400 MW of wind and solar power and 17392 MW of hydropower to be developed by 2022. In 2011, an integrated energy plan was developed with technical assistance from the Asian Development Bank to support the Pakistan Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform with the involvement of all relevant government agencies and ministries (International Resources Group, 2011). That plan utilized the most comprehensive and inclusive development process ever seen in Pakistan. Yet the government adopted neither of these plans as a comprehensive energy policy, and they remain indicative at best". It then proceeds to make a number of recommendations including the following.

Coordinate the development and implementation of an integrated energy plan: The plan will assist policy makers in evaluating the costs and benefits of both demand and supply interventions under a given set of technological, economic, resource and environmental constraints. The process for evolving an integrated energy plan for the whole country is necessary in view of the fact that the provinces are empowered to devise their own power policies, plans and infrastructure. Those directing the process must ensure the participation of all stakeholders from the public and private sectors considering investments in power generation, transmission, distribution and energy efficiency. An integrated energy plan would help set priorities for the technology, volume and location of renewable energy projects that would make the competitive bidding process for renewable energy technologies more effective and sound.

Set targets for renewable energy: Setting well-defined, realistic and time-bound targets would lend impetus for mainstreaming renewables into Pakistan's energy sector. The targets should be approved by the parliament.

Pakistan can generate 2.9 million MW clean energy from solar power

- **Encourage renewable energy zoning and competitive procurement:** Several countries, including UK, China, Brazil, and India, have benefitted enormously from organizing auctions for securing investment on the best possible terms for renewable energy projects. The Government of Pakistan has done well by signing an agreement with the World Bank for holding the auctions for competitive bidding. Renewable energy zoning would help in alleviating concerns about using the existing government grid for renewable energy transmission as underlined by the arrangements for the Quaid-e-Azam Solar Park.
- **Involve the private sector in transmission development:** The involvement of the private sector in developing and operating transmission projects allowing a proper profit for the investor would help in the government in overcoming the financial constraints of the transmission sector.
- **Develop a comprehensive distributed power generation plan:** The net-metering regulations introduced by the National Electric Power Regulatory Authority (NEPRA) provide an excellent opportunity to exploit the vastly available and geographically scattered solar energy. It is important to streamline the net metering system as well as to address the concerns of the distribution companies. The technical and financial impacts of distributed

The Federal and provincial governments should make concerted efforts to ensure that the over 50 million people living in rural areas, including some remote regions, are no longer denied access to electricity

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power generation should be integrated in the overall energy planning process.

- **Pay greater attention to rural electrification:** The Federal and provincial governments should make concerted efforts to ensure that the over 50 million people living in rural areas, including some remote regions, are no longer denied access to electricity. They should consider the recommendations made by the German International Cooperation Agency (GIZ) and the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund as well as enlist the National Rural Support Program (NRSP) which has carried out a number of successful initiatives for providing electricity to the rural communities in our Northern Areas and KP. They should also study the measures adopted by several South Asian and East African countries to encourage the establishment of multiple mini-grids by the private sector. Further, the government should consider the recommendations contained in the IRENA (2016) report, 'Policies and Regulations for private- sector renewable energy mini-grids'.
- **Domestic manufacturing of renewable energy equipment:** Government should consider soliciting investment for local manufacture of renewable energy equipment in order to reduce cost of production. The likely uptick in demand for equipment for renewable energy in neighboring countries as Afghanistan may create opportunities for Pakistan to export the equipment to them.
- **Provide facilities and incentives to the private start up companies:** Government to provide solar energy to the business sector and citizens. The AEDB must ensure issue of requisite permits to the private enterprises in order to encourage installation of solar energy in the country.

Amb Shafqat Kakakhel is a senior retired Pakistani diplomat who served as the UN Assistant Secretary General. He has also served as the Deputy High Commissioner in New Delhi and High Commissioner in Nairobi

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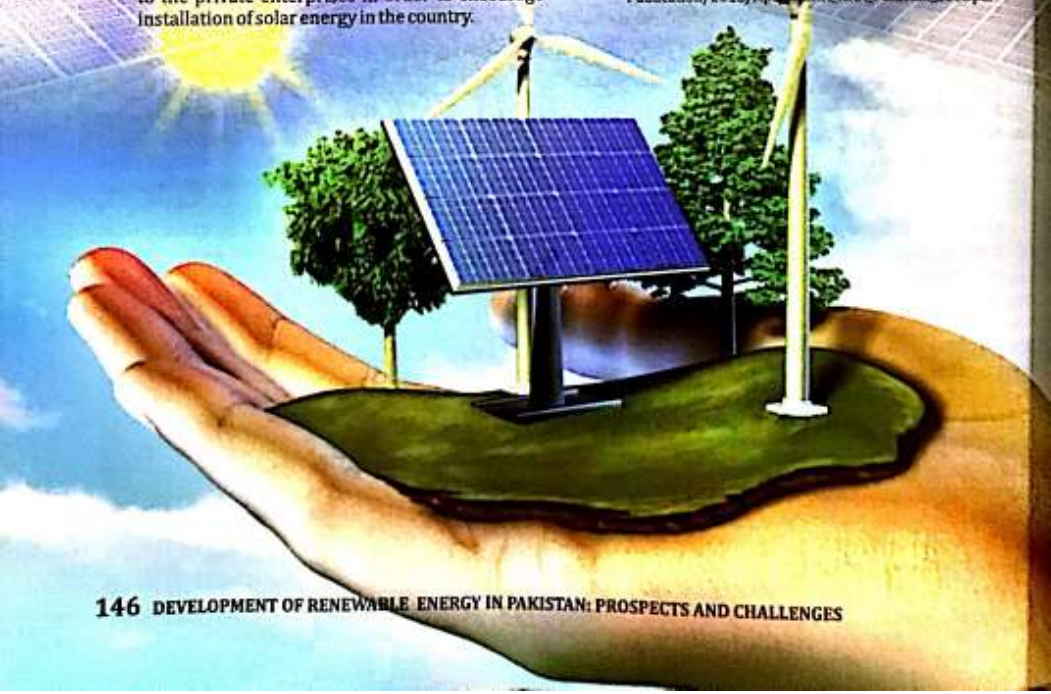

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STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Dr M Sheharyar Khan

ABSTRACT

The post-modern conflicts have become complex, unconventional and asymmetric. The belligerents are increasingly supplementing their military strategies with propaganda. Sometimes, they spend more on information warfare, than actual combat. In such a complex media environment, which has been facilitated by the advent of modern internet-based communication technology, states have no choice but to heavily invest in their Strategic Communication (SC) strategy. This paper highlights the need for supplementing military strategy with a strategic communications strategy. It is argued that conflicts cannot be resolved with brute force alone. From conflict to post-conflict resolution, strategic communications play a pivotal role. The article also suggests some contours of the SC model for the government.

Keywords: Strategic Communication, Information Environment, Conflict Resolution, Peace building, VNSAs, Propaganda, New Media and Perception Management.

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"The projection of foreign and security policies aimed at changing the attitudes and behaviour of targeted audiences to achieve strategic effects, using words, images, actions and non-actions in the national interest" Neville Bolt

Different definitions provide a different understanding of SC yet there are several common elements: coordinated and coherent use of all means of communication to influence targeted audiences in pursuit of political and national interests

Introduction

In armed conflict, every belligerent tries to influence the opinion-forming process in his favour. The purpose of influencing public perception is to mobilize the resources of society for his own benefit, persuade people his fight is the fight of good versus evil, convince allies that it's in their best interest to support the belligerent. To convince the enemy that a continuous fight is futile and lure neutrals to take his side. Influencing public opinion was called "propaganda," in the past and it had no negative or pejorative connotation. But the term is no more positive and is equated with an endless stream of lies. But propaganda is still relevant and is used by a different state, sub-state and non-state actors during war and peacetime. But they do not use the same term. The common term of the day is Strategic Communications (SC) at the strategic level. Information Operations (IOs) are used at the tactical and operational level. In other words, the term propaganda is used by protagonists for the enemy while SC and IOs are used for their own side.

Strategic Communications is thus employed by the states to achieve their well defined national interests. However, there is no unified definition or understanding of term SC even though it is being practised by different governments. On the academic front, Christopher Paul defines SC as 'coordinated actions, messages, images and other forms of signalling or engagement intended to inform, influence, or persuade selected audiences in support of national objectives'.[1] According to James Farwell, SC includes 'the use of words, actions, images, or symbols to influence the attitudes and opinions of target audiences to shape their behaviour in order to advance interests or policies, or to achieve objectives'.[2]

Neville Bolt defines SC as 'the projection of foreign and security policies aimed at changing the attitudes and behaviour of targeted audiences to achieve strategic effects, using words, images, actions and non-actions in the national interest'.[3] On the institutional front, there are numerous definitions of SC by different institutions. For instance, the US government (USG) defines SC as: The focused USG efforts to understand and engage key audiences to create, strengthen and preserve conditions for the advancement of USG interests, policies, and objectives through the use of coordinated programs, plans, themes, messages and products synchronized with the actions of all instruments of national power.[4]

The UK Ministry of Defence defines SC as efforts to advance 'national interests by using defence as a means of communication to influence the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of audiences'[5] and NATO defines SC as 'the coordinated and appropriate use of NATO communications activities and capabilities in support of Alliance policies, operations and activities and in order to advance NATO's aims'.[6]

All these definitions provide a different understanding of SC yet there are several common elements: coordinated and coherent use of all means of communication (words, images and actions) to influence targeted audiences in pursuit of political and national interests. Following this understanding, this article adopts the definition offered by the StratCom Terminology Project. According to the StratCom Terminology Project, SC represents 'a holistic approach to communication, based on values and interests that encompasses everything an actor does to achieve objectives in a contested environment'.[7]

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Military strategy alone does not solve the problem permanently. That is why countries have now adopted sophisticated SC strategies in a combination of the military strategy

The contested environments have caused civil conflicts, terrorism and insurgencies. These conflicts are mostly intra-state but some are inter-state as well. Countries are increasingly applying SC to resolve and manage conflicts. Hard power alone cannot completely stamp out conflicts. Most of the conflicts have deep roots and are often political in nature. As such, military strategy alone does not solve the problem permanently. That is why countries have now adopted sophisticated SC strategies in combination of the military strategy.

The main argument of this article is that SC can be an instrumental tool in conflict resolution and should be made part of military strategy.

Role of SC in Conflict Resolution

Armed conflicts are not only violent but also a theatre for action. The belligerents in the armed conflicts, especially the non-state actors, aim to covet support of domestic as well as international audience. They try their best to shape the information environment to their advantage. Combat action becomes a media spectacle and aims to get across the message and get approval. Violent Non-state Actors (VNSA) understands it better than the general society.[8]

VNSAs combines all their combat, political and actions with SC operations to the extent that they could not be distinguished from each other. The goal is to create societal Stockholm syndrome for the society to support VNSAs activities.[9]

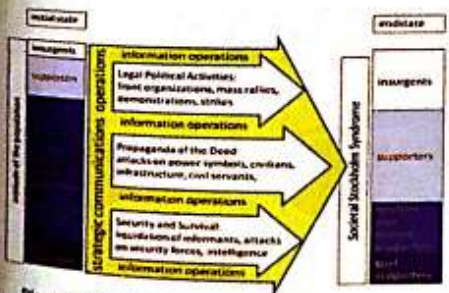

Diagram 1: The goal of non-state belligerent: generate societal Stockholm syndrome to gain increased popular support, and force society to bend to his will.[10]

For the conflict to be resolved on permanent bases, the root causes should be addressed and people should be made partners in solving the conflicts. This is not achievable either through military strategy or political strategy alone if not in sync with SC strategy

The non-state actors often have so-called 'noble goals' and attractive slogans like liberty, just distribution of wealth and self-determination, while at the same time can unleash unspeakable atrocities to achieve these goals. They manipulate the information environment to influence public opinion and gain its sympathy. The VNSAs create a narrative of victimhood by exaggerating the real or imagined grievances; highlighting discrimination and suffering and creating hope of deliverance and better future. Such a narrative can be easily created since injustice and grievances whether political or economic, exist almost in every country, even in the most developed and democratic countries.

However, the actions of law enforcement agencies are often subject to suspicion and doubt. Statements of the political and security officials are questioned and debated. In some cases, the doubt may have some genuine ground to it. In some instances, security personnel commit breaches of the law. Since a state's legitimacy rests on the guarantees of safety and security of its citizens, unlawful behaviour of its institution can threaten this legitimacy. At the same time, such breaches of the law can be publicized within seconds on social media and other media outlets, thanks to the advancement in digital technology. This can damage the cause of the governments hugely. That is why the state institutions must not only be law-abiding but also be seen and accepted as such.

This changing information environment leaves the state with no choice but to invest heavily in SC. The state must win the hearts and minds of the people to not only counter the propaganda of VNSAs, but also legitimize its own actions. The resolution of the conflicts will not be achieved only by the use of hard power and subduing the enemy. For the conflict to be resolved on permanent bases, the root causes should be addressed and people should be made partners in solving the conflicts. This is not achievable either through military strategy or political strategy alone if not in sync with SC strategy.

To achieve these goals, the SC strategy must identify the best media to address the target audiences.

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SC accompanies the life cycle of the conflict: from the start when tensions rise, through the conflict period and finally through a ceasefire and ultimate stable situation followed by resolution of the conflict on permanent bases

New technology as a medium, will enable the government to undertake information operations in the real-time across multiple platforms like traditional news media and new media platforms such as Internet publications as well as social media networks

Such an environment should be created that belligerents are isolated from the mainstream media, while domestic and other international audiences and stakeholders evaluate the conflict in line with the government narrative. As such, the government should be the primary and reliable source of information. A strategy should be adopted to deal with the sources of false information which help the insurgents; legislative action can be used to address this issue.

Contours of SC Model

The recent military conflicts are mostly unconventional in nature and as such, it cannot be approached from conventional prism. It is now more important than the past to know the audience, the knowledge of the public and their sociological context in order to influence their perception and gain their trust and sympathy.[11] The decision of the government to take military actions should not only be legal but they should be viewed as legitimate throughout the implementation process. In the modern era, the legality of the decisions is considered a continuous process. It is not just lawful per se. The actions should be viewed by those who are affected, as legitimate. To achieve this, there would be a need to manage the perception of the public and persuade them to accept the decision and action.

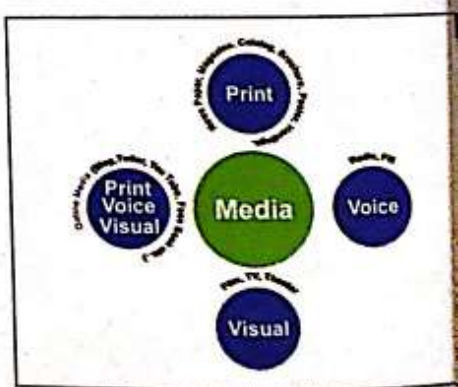
SC accompanies the life cycle of the conflict: from the start when tensions rise, through the conflict period and finally through a cease-fire and ultimate stable situation followed by resolution of the conflict on permanent bases. There would be times when erosion is seen in the public support for the actions of the government during and after the conflict. The erosion of the support depends upon the longevity of the conflict. If conflicts protract, people can lose trust in government efforts. The government needs to manage public expectations, its missions and the objectives of the actions. These objectives must be specific and measurable. The government should not create false expectations.

An indispensable condition of the success of SC is the unity of messages: the political leadership, the security forces, the ministries must all follow one narrative both in the statements of their employees and in their actions. This could be achieved through integration and central supervision of all communications activities. But it should be kept in mind that not everyone should repeat like a parrot, the same text word for word. The message should be unified not the words per se. Care should be taken in identifying the target audience according to the situation. Appropriate media should be identified to convey the tailor made message.

New technology as a medium, will enable the government to undertake information operations in real-time across multiple platforms like traditional news media (television or radio) and new media platforms such as Internet publications as well as social media networks.

The channels of communication can take the following form:

- Between individuals in the conflict.
- Within a group where conflict exists.
- Within groups or communities in conflict.
- Between communities and organizations such as multi-laterals, government and NGO's where cooperation and coordination are issues.



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New technologies have impacted a great change in the collection of information and to decide who can participate in the communication process

The governments would need to identify the audiences, decide on which is the best media to use and frame the message in such a way so as to promote its narrative on the conflict

The communication between all these stakeholders can be achieved through different media, both traditional and the new media. These are the channels where information interventions are done to introduce positive framing of the government agenda and narrative. The government can decide on which platform to use for target audiences from the given stakeholders. This approach provides for multiple pathways, functions and relationship focusing on tools through which people can communicate.

Traditional methods, like community meetings, radio, television, and newspapers, have long been informing the communities and organizations on the ground. With the addition of new communication tools like cellular phones, SMS, WhatsApp, social media and other interactive and smart apps, individuals, communities and organizations can now complement these traditional forms of media. These new tools of communication facilitate more information gathering and interactions between users.

In their application to conflict resolution and peace-building, these new tools of communication can contribute to greater knowledge and understanding about changing conditions on the ground. They help in understanding the needs of communities that are enduring or have endured violence and can even increase contact and understanding between opposing groups. New technologies have impacted a great change in the collection of information and to decide who can participate in the communication process.

To employ the new tools of information sharing, the following distinctions have to be made to see how the information is conveyed:-

- One to Many – broadcast - radio, TV, web mobile applications and short message service (SMS) broadcast.
- One to One - voice, mobile and SMS.
- Many to Many - social networks including online or mobile internet, mapping and crowdsourcing.

This distinction is important since it can help the government to decide what particular actors are more active in one sphere than other, thus different tools would be used in different identified spheres.

Conclusion

Strategic Communication is the use of words, actions, images or symbols to influence the attitudes and opinions of target audiences in order to achieve strategic interests of the state. The term has replaced propaganda which had developed a negative connotation. The new information environment and the asymmetry and unconventional nature of modern

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conflicts have necessitated the adoption SC strategy to the military strategy. SC is devised at the strategic level while Information Operations (IOs) are applied at the tactical and operational level. SC and IOs are applied throughout the cycle of conflict. SC becomes more important to resolve conflicts in the long term and permanent bases by controlling the information environment, alongside the kinetic operations. The post-operation environment may not necessarily resolve the conflict. As such, SC strategy should look to change the perceptions of the stakeholders. Not only to legitimize actions but also to end the conflicts by managing the information environment. The governments would need to identify the audiences, decide on which is the best media to use and frame the message in such a way so as to promote its narrative on the conflict. The introduction of new media technologies has created opportunities to reach all kinds of audiences and engage with them. Both traditional and new media could be used for the purpose of SC. Most importantly, whatever channel is used, the message should be unified on part of the government.

Dr. M. Sheharyar Khan is a well acknowledged researcher on FATA, KPK and Afghanistan.

NOTES

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PAKISTAN'S DILAPIDATED FORTE - SOFT POWER

Maj Muhammad Bin Khalid Cheema

"You have a soft spot, contrary to popular belief; it is not where you are weak. It is a gateway to indestructible power".[1]

ABSTRACT

Power is the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the desired outcome. It can be done by the application of "Soft Power" – A concept first devised by an American writer, Joseph S. Nye in his books of 1990s. The idea is based on the ability of a country, nation or individual to attract and co-opt rather than coerce to get the desired outcome. Conceivably, a nation can achieve its intended goals without the use of force and threats. Owing to globalization with enhanced awareness and surveillance means, public perceptions about internationally accepted social ethics, justice, cultural norms and traditions, human rights, entertainment and tourism have a much more pronounced impact on national policy development. This transformation in human thought and learnedness has created a room for exploiting the Soft Power potential of any country to pursue its national interests and strengthen state security at regional and global levels.

Pakistan being a nuclear power, having a vital geo-strategic location and strong Armed Forces, is a main player in the region. To its misfortune, Pakistan's image due to its domestic weaknesses is disfigured resulting in lower credibility and undue global negligence. Albeit, employing the instrument of Soft Power methodically, which has dilapidated over time, can be the redeemer for Pakistan.

Henceforth, there is a need to examine Soft Power potential of Pakistan in order to promote doable measures to hoist the state image, thereby alleviating the national policy impediments.

Keywords: Hard/soft and smart powers, GWOT, Decline in US soft power projections, Trump's doctrine, Xi Jinping's Vision, Indian Soft Power diaspora and effects, National Brand, Land of the Better Story, Armed Forces as Soft Power tool, Way forward.

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"The ability to influence behaviour of others to get the outcomes one wants. However, there are several ways to affect the behaviour of others. You can coerce them with threats; you can induce them with payments; or you can attract and co-opt them to want what you want."

Joseph S. Nye

Overview in Retrospect

Historically, man has always inclined towards violence in order to safeguard against its rights and interests. The show of force, power, military and political muscle, threats and coercion have remained the hallmark of world powers in ancient times till the World War 2 in the twentieth century. Niccole Machiavelli, an Italian diplomat writer, advocated in his book, "The Prince" written in 1513 that "It is better to be feared than to be loved". This model followed throughout most of the historical times mostly fixated on a state's ability to use coercive force or what is called the 'Hard Power', has directed the political system around the world. Political supremacy, military force and economic influence backed by technological advances formed the pivot around which national policies were formulated. The maxim of 'Might is Right' was invariably followed to capitalized upon the expansionist interests of nations and reigning greed of the monarchs. Thus, the Hard Power got embedded in the power ethics and traditions of the world order. However, in the later part of 20th century, lessons which rational nations derived from the Second World War and with the increase in nuclear powered countries radiating threats of annihilation, the desire to seek non-violent solutions nurtured. This paradigm shift to Soft Power projection enabled even the presumably humble countries like Canada, Malaysia, Japan and Brazil to make their mark on the international policy making bodies.

In the present era, nations are more inclined towards using non-kinetic means to achieve desired objectives. This notion of non-forceful means to mould and invite positive international recognition, thereby solidifying the national standings is attributed to Joseph S. Nye, Harvard University faculty member, who also served as Assistant Secretary of Defence during Clinton administration. Joseph S. Nye used the term in his book "Bound to Lead" published in 1990.[2] He defines power as, "The ability to influence behaviour of others to get the outcomes one wants. However, there are several ways to affect the behaviour of others. You can coerce them with threats; you can induce them with payments; or you can attract and co-opt them to want what you want".[3] He further explained the concept in his 2012 and 2014 publications where he says "the best propaganda is not propaganda", further explaining that during the Information Age, "credibility is the scarcest resource".[4]

Nature has bestowed upon Pakistan the bounties of human brilliance, intellect, religious and landscapist tourism, strong heritage and abundance of human resource

The concept has been widely applied globally and nations have realized its paybacks. Japan, is a case which has risen and established itself from wreckage after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki disaster. Today, Japan has a globally acknowledged standing with the third largest economy by GDP[5] and fourth largest by purchasing power parity (PPP). It is a member of G7 and G20. This proves the significance and potential outcomes of Soft Power in which a nation can get the things done at the table without intimidation or mere dependency on military collations.

Pakistan is a country blessed with God gifted elements of Soft Power. It is a fine blend of multiplicity with diverse ethnic, cultural, geographic, social, historical and religious values. Nature has bestowed upon Pakistan the bounties of human brilliance, intellect, religious and landscapist tourism, strong heritage and abundance of human resource. Yet, it is observed as an extremist and intolerant state. As a state, this perception has caused more harm to Pakistan than the actual skirmishes it has fought for its sovereignty. Despite suffering prodigious human and economic losses amongst the allied countries in the GWOT (Global War on Terror), still we are accused of mendacity and asked to do more? While effectively taking on India through well trained and professional military muscle, why do we often fall short of allies at any global forum of influence? What makes India more heard despite its atrocities and fascist ideology? This indicates that we lack skills to attract and influence international audience to our favour as "they have to tell a story before they sell a story".[6] In such a scenario, Soft Power if employed diligently can achieve desired results in image perception of Pakistan worldwide.

It is the art of achievement through attraction rather than coercion or payoffs. "Hard Power is the push, Soft Power is the pull".

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Americans won the Cold War against the Soviets by effectively employing it's media and competing on artistic excellence in terms of symbolic music, films, theatre and novels

the globe has made it a strategic imperative for countries today to proactively manage their image and opinions. Governments have been using the media, especially electronic media to project their Soft Power due to its penetration capabilities and enormity. In the present information era, any element of Soft Power will fail to attract global audiences if state media industry is naïve, underdeveloped or immature.

Overseas Nationals

These assets of any nation associate with themselves multifaceted benefits, Soft Power being one of it, queued with foreign remittances, sponsorships etc. These reveal the national traits on foreign soils and maybe the only means of Soft Power projection in any circumstances. Announcement of Commonwealth Points of Light Award to two British Pakistanis is an example to this. British High Commissioner Dr Christian Turner said: "It was an honour to hear Her Majesty recognise Rizq's remarkable work to tackle food insecurity. Moments like this are examples of the profoundly positive relations between the UK, Pakistan and Commonwealth".[10]

Analysis of The Global Soft Power Projection – Declines and Recompenses

USA's Decline

Soft Power has worked as a force-multiplier, easing cooperation with friends, perpetrating socio-political advantages over enemies and enhancing the impact of United States policy. The American image has remained a topsy-turvy portrait in the recent couple of decades. Sympathy for the United States after the 9/11 attacks was quickly followed by anger over the Iraq War and extended stay in Afghanistan. Yet American influence on societies everywhere remains profound. There is one simple reason i.e. "American Soft Power" which it projects through cultural and diplomatic outreach programmes; United States still influences "the street" globally. Foreign training programs and varieties of calamity assistance programs, such as flood control and poverty alleviation in Pakistan (USAID); earthquake relief in Japan and Haiti; Tsunami relief in Japan and India; and famine relief in the Horn of Africa are examples of its Soft Power policies. Conversely, American Soft Power since 9/11 has witnessed a steady decline due to the defective policies.

US foreign aid is an essential part of its foreign policy and it has been using foreign aid since 1946 as a tool.[11] Post 9/11 policies of Bush administration were more of coercion focused, despite the fact that USA had possessed the highest degree of Soft Power for a very long time. On 20 September 2001, in a speech before a joint session of Congress, Bush changed the direction of American foreign policy and made terrorism its focus. He said, "We will direct every resource at our command, every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence and every necessary weapon of war, to the destruction and to the defeat of global terror network".[12] And he meant his words. Today, the Soft Power credentials of USA have further deteriorated by Trump's policies which are driven by temptation and self-praise. His stance on the very first dispute with Mexico supports the argument.

Americans won the Cold War against the Soviets by effectively employing it's media and competing on artistic excellence in terms of symbolic music, films, theatre and novels. Dozens of American radio stations were directed toward Soviet Republics of Eastern Europe to attract the public by manifesting persuasive image and through Hollywood films that hyped American culture and linked it to freedom, openness and democracy. Even today, Hollywood's distinct ability to communicate worldwide and connect to people gives America an edge in its Soft Power. However, due to increased awareness and broadcasting of American harshness over social/ local media in Afghanistan, Iraq and Guantanamo bay have dented its status.

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"To strengthen our cultural Soft Power; we should disseminate the values of modern China. More work should be done to refine and explain our ideas and extend the platform for overseas publicity, so as to make our culture known through international communication and dissemination"

Chinese President Xi

Public diplomacy has contributed enormously towards the American Soft Power. However, the money spent on cultural and public diplomacy has been in decline since Trump is in power, while Pentagon has been given extra money in addition to its immense budget in recent years, which is disturbing for US Soft Power ranking.

Tourism restrictions imposed by Trump and increased frequency of racism related cases depicting weak social fibre are some of the other reasons for declined American rating in Soft Power projecting countries.

Chinese Wisdom

Hu Jintao said, "The Chinese culture belongs not only to the Chinese but to the whole world". Hu also expressed concern that "The overall strength of China's culture and its international influence does not commensurate with China's international status".[13] These quotations reflect the realization of the impact of Soft Power by Chinese leadership at an early stage and its vision for its projection.

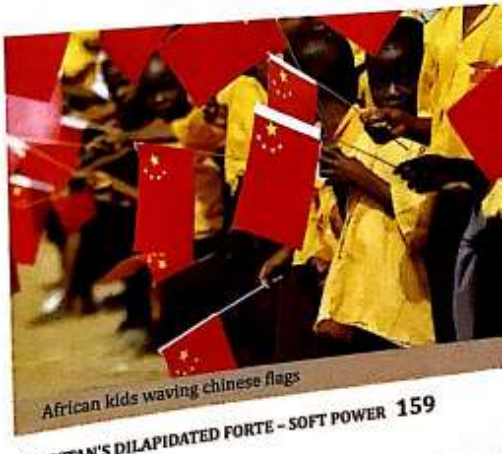
China has firmly believed on this notion of persuasion and pull through application of Soft Power for global outreach. The present Premier, Xi Jing Ping in a December 2014 speech titled "Enhance China's Cultural Soft Power" proposed "to strengthen our cultural Soft Power; we should disseminate the values of modern China. More work should be done to refine and explain our ideas and extend the platform for overseas publicity, so as to make our culture known through international communication and dissemination". Since then, the Chinese Soft Power has played a magnificent role in its quest to sweep global economy.

Chinese Economic Development and stability gives China the thoroughfare to simultaneously propagate its Soft Power and maintain its Hard Power, making the country a classic example of exploiting the Smart Power concept

Foreign Policy of China is primarily non-confrontational in essence. The BRI initiative, in which China aims at connecting with the globe through land communication infrastructure and promoting mutual trade stands testament. Lately, the Chinese measured response over Indian provocative measures leading to skirmishes at the disputed Line of Actual Control in Ladakh depicts its focus on persuasion, despite maintaining a well reckoned military might.

China, in its Public and Multilateral Diplomacy has been keen to support its own interests and expand its international influence by creating several multilateral organizations, in which the USA does not participate. These include East Asia Summit, Forum on China-Africa Cooperation and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Promoting foreign graduate and research exchanges through the China Scholarships Council and hosting major international events such as the Beijing Olympics in 2008, Shanghai World Expo in 2010 and 7th International Military Sports Competition at Wuhan in October 2019[14] have enabled China to portray the desired image.

Chinese Economic Development and stability gives China the thoroughfare to simultaneously propagate its Soft Power and maintain its Hard Power, making the country a classic example of exploiting the Smart Power concept.



African kids waving chinese flags

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"Despite a tumultuous year, China holds its ranking at 5th in the 2020 Soft Power 30 Index, a testament to the strength and resilience of its soft power assets."

India

India has been moderately successful in achieving and projecting its Soft Power by virtue of its economy, culture and democracy.

The US in the 2000s, worked to get India an international waiver from nuclear sanctions, identifying it as a de-facto nuclear weapon state. It was all made possible by managed radiation of positive energies such as democracy, growing market and in control steward of nuclear arsenal. Neighbouring countries like Bangladesh, Nepal, Maldives and Afghanistan have consulted India in the past for assistance in piloting free and fair elections, drafting their constitutions and developing welfare schemes.

Indians have successfully managed to penetrate and influence foreign cultures through manifestation of their cultural soft power. Celebrations of Holi, Diwali and other native festivals have become common in non-Hindu societies as well. Stout and effective use of media, to project the good and negate the negative not only enhanced nationalism but also displayed India as an emerging, prosperous and

"India is losing path to authentic world leadership, given the acquittals of rapists of little Muslim girls, public lynching of Muslims and lately, the traumatising and unconstitutional revocation of autonomy for Kashmiris by the Hindu Nationalist BJP"
Ravale Mohydin

democratic republic, safe for foreign investment, tourism and entertainment.[15] Tripathy, secretary for tourism formally launched the "Incredible India" pavilion introducing the country as 'The Land of the Festivals'. He said that "India currently welcomes 10 million visitors a year but this is just a drop in the ocean". Indian e-Visa system has been a game changer and Indian Tourism won first prize in the category of TV Cinema Spot at the International Golden Gate Tourism Awards 2019.[16] All this attributes to make a say, a say which is heard.

However, the Hindutva ideology of the present BJP government has started to prove counter-productive as it is negating the very core of Soft Power concept. "India is losing path to authentic world leadership, given the acquittals of rapists of little Muslim girls, public lynching of Muslims and lately, the traumatising and unconstitutional revocation of autonomy for Kashmiris by the Hindu Nationalist BJP".[17] The horrific rise in poverty due to the on-going pandemic mismanagement, spiteful attitude towards its neighbours including China and Nepal, the violations of the rudiments of a republic state through the Citizenship Amendment Act and indulgence in subversive and sabotage activities on foreign lands are driving India towards the boggy parks.

Pakistan's Soft Power Forte - A Way Forward

"Notwithstanding its rich historical and cultural heritage, Pakistan has been unable to attract the world's attention".[18]

Pakistan's Soft Power potentials are over shadowed by the perceived internal situation of the country. Violence, terrorism, illiteracy and socio-economic ills which have tainted the fair reputation for this nation. It is an irony that one of Pakistan's most prominent female role models, Oscar-winning filmmaker Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy, earned her coveted prize for highlighting the brutal treatment to subjugated women. For Pakistan, time has come when it needs to tap and capitalize its Soft Power potentials.

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From minor to major, all acts and events unfolding in a society are being monitored worldwide. We as a nation need to develop this sense when committing ourselves in any commotion, as the perceptions are hallmark of Soft Power

In our Cache

Soft Power potential of any nation can be described in simplistic terms as "The ability to engage maximum foreign public, influencing them positively beyond governmental relations." Pakistan has been blessed with such attributes and elements of national image which many countries endeavour to develop and project artificially. We merely need their identification and a resolve to capitalize on them. Some of the key arenas which could be explored in this matter are enunciated below.

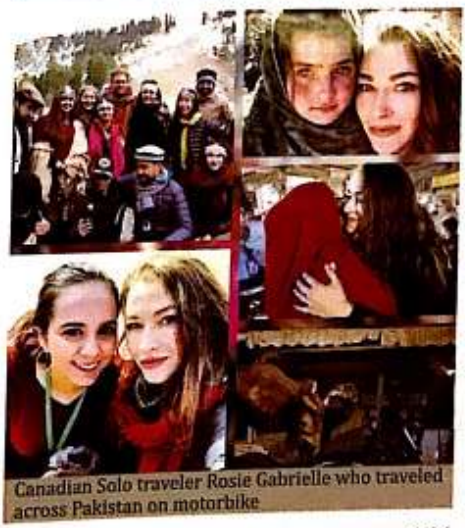
First and the foremost thing is the development and realization of a national resolve. Goals can only be achieved when critically observed with focus and the associated efforts applied in the right direction. People need to understand the concept and the fruits accompanying. In today's modern and hi-tech world, nothing goes unnoticed. From minor to major, all acts and events unfolding in a society are being monitored worldwide. We as a nation need to develop this sense when committing ourselves in any commotion as the perceptions are hallmark of soft power. We thence, need to carry a positive national brand with each one of us, which is only possible through high national values and a carefully articulated approach.

Owing to geo-strategic location, Pakistan enjoys diplomatic influence at regional and international level. BRI/ CPEC projects and the reality of Gwadar port, testify this notion

Owing to its geo-strategic location, Pakistan enjoys diplomatic influence at regional and international level. BRI/ CPEC projects and the reality of Gwadar port, testify this notion. While interacting with the outside world, Pakistan needs to adopt an all-encompassing approach duly considering their apprehension which will not only help build trust, but also forge lasting relations. Developments in the South Asian region and partnership with China in its global concept of trade is a God given opportunity where Pakistan can project its image as a stable, hospitable and responsible country capable of shouldering responsibilities concerning regional and global opulence.

Pakistan is multilingual and multi-cultured society. Centuries old Indus civilization and variant culture from coasts of Arabian Sea to peaks of Himalaya, from distinctive culture of Kailash to one of the biggest Islamic gatherings at Raiwind, from the remains of Mohinjodaro to metropolitan areas of Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad; Pakistan is rich in culture and heritage. This richness in culture can become a prime source for projecting softer image of Pakistan altogether. Pakistan's diverse landscapes, snow clad mountains and vast deserts are a heaven for tourism. It is a destination to eight out of top 20 highest peaks of the world. Spectacular landscapes coupled with hospitable people make it an ideal tourist destination. Moreover, the present government's inclination towards religious tourism in the shape of Darbar Kartarpur Sahib and Raiwind needs to be exploited further with perseverance. Moreover, all national/cultural days be celebrated by Pakistani embassies all over the world with great fervour in order to spread awareness about our rich cultural traditions and hospitality.

Pakistan's diverse landscapes, snow clad mountains and vast deserts are a heaven for tourism. Spectacular landscapes coupled with hospitable people make it an ideal tourist destination



Canadian Solo traveler Rosie Gabrielle who traveled across Pakistan on motorbike

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Approximately 7.7 Million Pakistanis are settled around the globe. Besides heavy remittance in national exchequer, they can act as ambassador of the nation and present cultural and social values of Pakistan

We have already achieved the stability in security situation and partially succeeded in projecting this stability to world viewers through foreign visitors, international media access and v-loggers. However, certain initiatives like e-visas, visas on arrival, lenient policies for foreign tourists and a control mechanism to regulate tourism fares will clarify the state of probable insecurity and doubts in pupils planning their visits.

Approximately 7.7 Million Pakistanis are settled around the globe. Besides heavy remittance in national exchequer, they can act as ambassador of the nation and present cultural and social values of Pakistan. This diaspora has deep rooted patriotism which is further alleviated by living distantly for prolonged periods. At the same time, negative news heard at a distance over the media alone has its negative impacts manifolds, hence, a double edged weapon. Investing in the overseas Pakistanis and making use of them for image building of the nation requires steps at diplomatic level. This policy needs a well-directed effort and measures to enable the diaspora in exploiting suitable international forum. A case in light is the selection of 15 Pakistani born British elected in last British elections, MPs in other states and numerous other professionals. Pakistani embassies abroad have a crucial role to play in this regard.

We have ventures like Edhi and Chippa Foundations, Shoukat Khanum Memorial Cancer Hospital etc, that can be promoted as international humanitarian organisations by registering these with Red Cross and enabling them to operate worldwide

In the information age, Joseph Nye has argued, often the side having the better story wins. Pakistan needs to be the 'land of the better story'. Young and vibrant media and third largest english speaking population can become a primary source of projecting softer image of Pakistan internationally. Media invariably has the means to convey intended messages in the intended ways to achieve desired result. It is something in everybody's hands these days. It does not need any diplomatic or bureaucratic effort to convey things to the mass public internationally. All it takes is refinement and mature influential journalism to do the job. We have ventures like Edhi and Chippa Foundations, Shoukat Khanum Memorial Cancer Hospital etc, that can be promoted as international humanitarian organisations rather than domestic centric by registering these with Red Cross and enabling them to operate worldwide, where possible. These initiatives be extensively propagated on national and international print, electronic and social media networks in order to maximise the effects.

The power of arts, music, film, drama and mainstream media of Pakistan has been greatly undervalued and remained confined. The media can support the notion of Soft Power through various forms of performing arts such as dramas, cultural events, music and documentaries exhibiting the vibrant culture and people of Pakistan. Animated series for children like "3 Bahadur", "Burqa Avengers" etc, can be taken to the next level in order to gain the attention of audience worldwide about the undiscovered talent in Pakistan. Furthermore, current government steps of screening Pakistani dramas and movies in Arabic in Saudi Arabia maybe expanded to other regions. Renowned Pakistani writers should be encouraged and given patronage to write and publish content in global electronic and print media showing the brighter side of the country to international audience. Government must accelerate the merger of all media regulating authorities to Pakistan Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) in order to streamline media control mechanism. Furthermore, the regulatory powers should also make anti-state discussions and programmes, punishable crimes.

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Pakistanis have displayed remarkable abilities in education and attracted world attention. Doctor Abdul Salam, Ali Moin Nawazish, Doctor Naveed Syed, Arfa Karim Randawa and Haroon Tariq are few such iconic figures.

Pakistanis have displayed remarkable abilities in education and attracted world attention. Doctor Abdul Salam, Ali Moin Nawazish, Doctor Naveed Syed, Arfa Karim Randawa and Haroon Tariq are few such iconic figures. Such personalities can become the face of nation to represent the promising and talented youth of Pakistan. Pakistan can fully utilize the potential of its faculty and students alike at various renowned international universities. Such student and faculty exchange programmes need to be initiated on emergency basis as these are a crucial source of not only benefitting from the knowledge and resources of other nations but also of showing the intelligent and enlightened side of Pakistani youth, rarely known to the world. On the other side, Pakistani universities like PIEAS (375TH), NUST (400th), UET and COMSATS (801-1000) and LUMS (701-800)[19] are among the top world universities. Pakistan should also initiate various affiliation programmes with internationally renowned universities to seek recognition and enhance their reputation in order to attract foreign students.

Pakistan has dominated some sports for more than a decade. In cricket, hockey, snooker and squash, our teams and players have won many international events. Other than international, "The sports of soil" like Kabbadi, Mulakhra (Unique wrestling of Sindh), Kushti (wrestling of Punjab), Tent Pegging, Polo and Bullock Race have huge potential to attract world attention. With the arrival of events like Pakistan Super League, Free Martial Arts Championship, Pakistan Boxing Super League and various other domestic sports activities, a number of foreign players have started visiting Pakistan. Moreover, football legends like Luis Figo, Kaka, Ronaldinho and Carles Puyol have also visited Pakistan to promote football. The interest shown by world boxing champion Amir Khan to promote boxing talent and projection of Pakistan's image is commendable. This needs to be further extended, integrating other inland sports to utilize the full potential of sports in Pakistan as a tool of Soft Power.

Pakistan Armed Forces enjoy credibility and professional acumen through proven historical enterprises. The same repute, organizational strength, vision of future and dedication to the national cause can be used as a Soft Power tool quite effectively

Pakistan Armed Forces enjoy credibility and professional acumen through proven historical enterprises. The same repute, organizational strength, vision of future and dedication to the national cause can be used as a Soft Power tool quite effectively. In that, regular cooperation and exchange programs are held with over 60 nations. International Defence Exhibition and Seminar (IDEAS), PACES competition, Cambrian Patrol and Drill competitions are worth mentioning in this regard.

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Pakistan's position as third largest troop contributing country for UN peace keeping in the world is a testimony to its commitment and endeavours towards promoting the noble cause of global peace

Today, Pakistan's position as third largest troop contributing country for UN peace keeping in the world is a testimony to its commitment and endeavours towards promoting the noble cause of global peace. Rescue operations and rehabilitation activities, though calculated in scope but excelling in professionalism by Pakistan Army USAR team, NDMA and FWO have projected a very positive image of the nation in general. Recently, the support extended by Government of Pakistan in general and Pakistan Army in particular for COVID-19 mitigation measures by sending teams of professional doctors and material aids to various countries have left a mark of recognition on almost all major global forums. These practices backed by the government financially, legally and diplomatically need to be continued for further pumping up of this successful Soft Power projection tool.

Along with maintenance of Hard Power to deter any aggression against the country, immense Soft Power potentials of Pakistan must be exploited as a winning tool to revive distorted image of the country world over and to counter the Soft Power influence of our adversaries

Conclusion

Use of Soft Power appears to be more attractive than Hard Power but comes with its own striking limitations. Soft Power, therefore, can best be considered as a foreign policy option useful for addressing a small fraction of the problems on any country's foreign policy agenda. Analysts who suggest that Soft Power can easily be substituted for Hard Power or who maintain that Hard Power should provide an overarching guide to the formulation of foreign policy are badly mistaken. Recent standoff between China and India bears witness to the fact. Though a strong advocate and practitioner of Soft Power, China owing to its military muscle showed an aggressive posture to India who threatened her foreign policy goals. However, along with maintenance of Hard Power to deter any aggression against the country, immense Soft Power potentials of Pakistan must be exploited as a winning tool to revive distorted image of the country world over and to counter the Soft Power influence of our adversaries. It is always a joint venture of the two for projecting notion of victory. Pakistan has slowly comprehended its significance and has adopted a wholistic approach to use Soft Power as a policy tool. National co-ordination, political stability and resolve coupled with financially enabled conditions albeit are required to get this strategy materialized.

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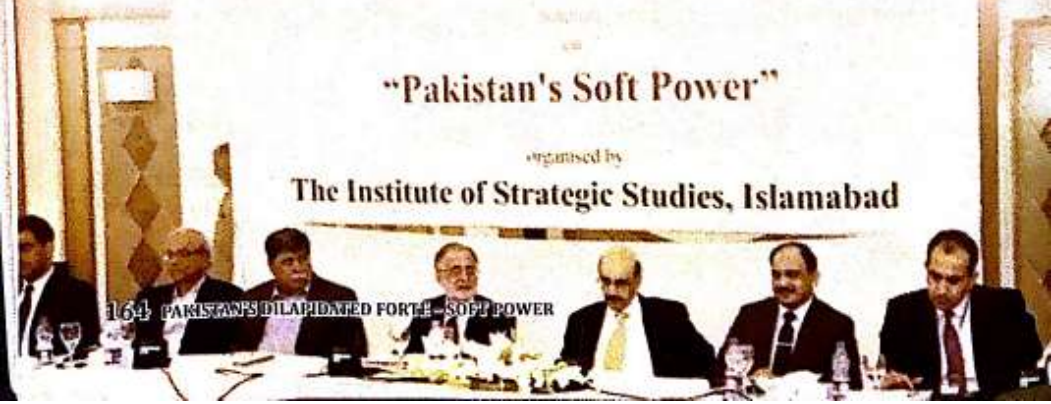

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Globalization vs Regionalism– Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

Since the World-War II, globalization has been unabatedly increasing. It has created fierce competition among nations, industries and firms for gaining access to resources, investments, and markets. It has encouraged its participants to seek competitive edge for their advantage. Nevertheless, many countries could not take advantage from opportunities offered by globalization; consequently, the wealth gap between countries widened. Countries of the world then opted for Regional Integration Initiatives (RIIs), which have been sponsored through partnerships and free trade agreements. RIIs are often supported by creating common rules and systems aiming at regional and global prosperity. Countries, like Pakistan, could not benefit much from both globalization and regionalism. Because both required substantial adjustments that domestic industries could not withstand. Consequently, they opted for bilateral free trade and preferential trading arrangements. Paradoxically, they tried passively to benefit from opportunities offered by these schemes. The challenge before them is to completely overhaul their economic structures to capitalize from opportunities offered by the bilateral, regional and multilateral openings; otherwise they will continually remain in virtual isolation. Geopolitical situation demands from friendly regional countries to come forward and strengthen regionalism and bilateralism for creating a 'secured prosperity' in the region.

Keywords: Geopolitical, Globalization, Regionalism, Bilateralism, Regional Integration Initiatives, Free Trade Agreements, Secured Prosperity

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Globalization process was abetted by the post-World-War multilateral trading system, which liberalized trade and played a vital role in creating prosperity and, in turn, raised national income for spending on health, education and helping poor

When regionalism picked up momentum in the 1970s, political considerations were at the forefront. Economic considerations came into play only later

Introduction

For more than seventy years, globalization has been unabatedly increasing. It has created fierce competition among nations, industries and firms for gaining access to resources, investments, and markets. It has encouraged its participants to seek competitive edge for their benefit. In this context, countries have chosen to use international agreements to improve their competitiveness.

Globalization impacts different economies differently. Researches show that more globalized a country is, higher growth and greater reductions in poverty it achieves than those countries that stay outside the globalization system. Such countries have capitalized on the international flows of goods, services, capital, workers and technology, subsequently they have vitalized their businesses and entrepreneurial activities, and accelerated structural transformation of their economies.

Nevertheless, several countries could not take benefit from opportunities presented by globalization. Consequently, the wealth gap between countries widened in the 1990s. Countries that failed are those who kept on relying on autarkic policies, which made foreign markets less profitable than domestic markets. Pakistan is among this group of countries. Pakistan, in the 1980s, was well positioned[1] to engage in the cross-border connectivity unleashed by globalization and with right conditions to graduate to the next level of development, when its openness ratio[2] was 39% in 1990, supported by a sound industrial base, a good technological infrastructure, and a fairly open policy regime. But afterwards largely due to domestic reasons there was a slide in openness ratio and today in 2020 it stands at 19.4%. Evidently, Pakistan is now hovering around the margins of globalization despite its fortunate circumstances. The situation is indicative of missed opportunities and desisting of the challenges of globalization.

Globalization process was abetted by the post-World-War multilateral trading system, which liberalized trade and played a vital role in creating prosperity and, in turn, raised national income for spending on health, education and helping poor.[3] However, globalization became controversial because it created global inequalities and caused job losses, and environmental challenges.

This is so because many developing countries were not independent when the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was founded in 1947. They expressed dissatisfaction with rules of the GATT that were developed in the earlier rounds of Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTNs).

The Doha round of MTNs, started in 2001, is currently suspended as the negotiated concessions were not acceptable to developed countries, who demanded from the bigger developing economies, including India and Brazil, to make more reciprocal concessions. Neither side has shown any flexibility to secure an agreement to end subsidies on agricultural export. Due to these developments, the world saw the rise of regional and bilateral trade negotiations as preferred options rather than MTNs. This has certainly overshadowed the prospect of the multilateral trading system.[4]

The proponents of regionalism argue that it is an instrument to bridge the gap in demands of developed and developing countries by bolstering the ability of participating countries to secure the benefits of globalization. They view that regional cooperation and integration complement globalization and do not

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Regionalism has created opportunities for some countries but countries in the South Asia and Central Asia could not benefit due to inaction

compete with it. Regional cooperation is considered as a "second-best" policy, as it offers a middle channel between absolute self-reliance (autarky situation) and complete openness. Regional integration is promoted by creating partnership and free trade arrangements.

When regionalism picked up momentum in the 1970s, political considerations were at the forefront, economic considerations came into play only later. Asian cooperation has come mainly from sub-regional groups like South Asia Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). Although, the main focus of regional cooperation is merchandise trade, yet other important areas include services trade, investment, transportation, tourism and finance.

Regional integration initiatives are carried forward through common rules and systems to accelerate cross-border socio-economic activities. The principal rationale has been that regional integration created on the basis of common rules will ensure both regional and global prosperity and stability. Thus, regionalism is viewed as a 'building block' of developing a prosperous 'globalized world'.

Regionalism is growing fast. Current numbers of regional trade agreements in force are 304.[5] Despite expansion of regional blocs, some experts fear that they are eroding the multilateral trading system. Regionalism has created opportunities for some countries but countries in the South Asia and Central Asia could not benefit due to inaction. As a result they opted for bilateralism, even that could not create a satisfactory outcome.

Transportation and communication has enabled firms to cater more people and expand their reach and influence. Long distances and separation of business headquarters from production locations do not pose a problem for global firms; such a model is the norm under globalization

Within the above perspective, this paper emphasizes that Pakistan needs to engage proactively in bilateralism, multilateralism and regionalism processes to benefit from economic and non-economic opportunities they offer.

Drivers of Globalization

Enterprises, people and nations want to know, whether globalization is a positive or negative force. Although, no definitive answer can be given to this question; yet it could be stated that globalization could be a positive force depending on a nation's policies. Conversely, globalization could be detrimental if a government could not prepare itself to reap benefits of globalization.

Apart from technological progress, globalization is motivated by the fact that global expansion of certain businesses is the source of sharp increase in external revenue. In this context, economies-of-scale could easily increase the profitability. Transportation and communication has enabled firms to cater more people and expand their reach and influence. Long distances and separation of business headquarters from production locations do not pose a problem for global firms; such a model is the norm under globalization.

Main benefit of globalization could be assessed from its role in market expansion. Pakistan's domestic market is too small to get benefit from economies-of-scale. Such benefits can only be realized if domestic firms enter into global markets. Globalization enables them to find new markets and by tapping markets, exports expand.

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Critics of globalization consider that globalization is eradicating diversity and has led to emergence of a dominant culture. This is another way to say that globalization is destroying the beauty and diversity of this planet.

Globalization has particularly increased efficiency in the supply chain management of businesses. It has also incentivized countries to harmonize their policies and thus develop cost-effective systems to produce high-quality goods and services.

Globalization promotes FDI flows that are a source of economic growth and employment generation. FDI can create complementary business opportunities for local entrepreneurs if they establish links with foreign firms. In this way brilliant minds and innovative strategists pool their resources to find solutions for global problems. If FDI is attracted in export-oriented industries then it can stimulate exports from the country and can help in managing the balance of payments.

FDI creates a ripple effect as local companies are exposed to better management practices and transform themselves to meet world-class standards. At the same time, globalization forces domestic companies to adopt ways to lower production and trade costs to remain in the business especially in the international market.

Countries prefer regionalism when they are frustrated with lack of progress at the WTO system in the promulgation of new laws that are broadly accepted or in refining existing laws

Critics of globalization view it negatively. They consider that globalization is eradicating diversity and has led to emergence of a dominant culture. As a result, citizens of say third world nations emulate western culture to the detriment of their own. This is another way to say that globalization is destroying the beauty and diversity of this planet.

Globalization has also resulted in the proliferation of overseas emigration. Workers either leave their home countries permanently or emigrate on temporary work permits. The attraction of higher pay makes it difficult to resist the offer. However, there are social consequences for the left-behind family members. An infusing fear disturbs emigrants because of lack of job security.

Drivers of Regionalism

Non-discrimination is a basic rule of all WTO agreements; however, the GATT and the GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services) allow preferential trade agreements among a subset of members. To avoid abuse of this allowance, the WTO agreements impose certain conditions that must be met for a regional agreement by WTO Members.

There are different views on the reasons for the proliferation of regional blocs in recent times. These include: (1) slow progress in achieving a global trading regime under the auspices of WTO; and (2) the domino theory.

Dissatisfaction with the Multilateral System

- Countries prefer regionalism when they are frustrated with lack of progress at the WTO system in the promulgation of new laws that are broadly accepted or in refining existing laws. The main claim is that securing deals at the multilateral level is slow and difficult because countries usually have their fixed interests which contradict others. Such interests avert progress towards agreements, while contradictory interests prevent implementation of the agreements. Some countries feel that their interests are not satisfactorily addressed by the

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The domino theory predicts that when successful Regional Trade Agreement (RTA) is formed then it prompts formation of RTAs in other regions of the world

Countries that are not successful in joining an established RTA try to establish their very own bloc. They often imitate the rules of established RTAs and forge similar agreements to protect their interests

instrument of the agreements. The consequence is that due to shortage of the required number in favor, there will be difficulty in implementation of agreements; but in case an agreement come into force, it will be implemented by a few countries and therefore it becomes a plurilateral rather than a multilateral agreement.

- Contrary to multilateral rules, instruments of regional and bilateral agreements are less complicated and easier to negotiate in a smaller group of countries having common interests. Accordingly, with dissatisfaction in the multilateral scope, countries with shared interests join together to endorse their own set of instruments to protect their interests through regional and bilateral agreements. It may be noted that at present, there are over 3200 International Investment Agreements (IIAs), out of which 2896 are Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs), while only 2339 are being implemented.[6]
- However, the argument is more controversial when it comes to FTAs. Schott (1989) and Bhagwati (1993) argued that due to lack of progress in the multilateral system there has been proliferation of FTAs led by regional blocs.[7] But others including Baldwin (1997) disagreed by arguing that the experience of regional agreements does not support this point of view. Baldwin further argued that regional blocs have proliferated simultaneously with progress at the multilateral level. Both sides of the arguments are strong and valid and are supported by evidence.

The Domino Theory

- The domino theory predicts that when successful Regional Trade Agreement (RTA) is formed then it prompts formation of RTAs in other regions of the world. Initially, an RTA is formed by a few countries but with its success, other countries in the region that at the outset opted to stay outside the bloc then try to join it, but not without paying a cost of accession. The European Union (EU), for example, started with six founding member countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) and over time has expanded to 27 members.[8]
- On the other hand, some countries do not wait for the bloc to be successful before seeking to join it. This is because they fear if the bloc became successful and they remained outside of it then it will divert trade from them.[9] Therefore, they start seeking their inclusion from the launch of bloc. This was seen in case of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Whereby, initially Canada did not consent to establish FTA with USA, but it pressed for its inclusion in the US-Mexico FTA negotiations process. So the proposal to bend the US-Mexico FTA-negotiations came exclusively from Canada who was concerned of the likely trade diversion that it will have to pay a price by staying outside NAFTA.[10]
- Countries that are not successful in joining an established RTA try to establish their very own bloc. They too often imitate the rules of established RTAs and forge similar agreements to protect their interests. In any case, the ultimate outcome is the proliferation of regional blocs.[11]

Globalization: Challenges and Opportunities

Globalization has created both challenges and opportunities for the world. It provides not only opportunities for improving growth and socio-economic well-being but imposes challenges especially

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If a country is successful and growing, it is not at the cost of the other country; in fact, the successful country helps other countries by providing them with its large market for them to trade with and selling its superior quality products at lower prices

During the 1997 East Asian financial crisis, the experience revealed that openness to global capital markets left domestic financial markets at the mercy of sudden shocks, creating more volatility in exchange rates and massive flight of capital, especially in countries whose financial systems were fragile

to increase the workers' welfare and reduce income inequality as MNCs shift their production operations to other countries for taking advantage of lower cost of doing business, primarily due to lower labor cost.

Opportunities from Globalization

- Freer trade is at the core of globalization, which allows countries to specialize on the basis of their comparative productivity advantage. Theoretically, it is argued that trade is a win-win situation but practically it is not a zero-sum game because evidently some countries gain from trade while others lose. Nevertheless, trade does benefit every country as it allows consumers to enjoy bigger variety and better quality of goods. Besides, if trade is conducted on competitive basis then it lowers goods prices and raises real wages of workers. If a country is successful and growing it is not at the cost of the other country; in fact, the successful country helps other countries by providing them with its large market to trade with and selling its superior quality products at lower prices.[12]
- Within the above viewpoint, globalization has created opportunities for countries to experience economic growth. Liberalization of foreign capital flows attracts FDI, which in turn induce more domestic investment, which stimulates economic growth and employment generation. Financial liberalization facilitates development of domestic financial markets through financial deepening, which lowers cost of services and improves allocation of resources.
- Globalization creates competition among firms across countries. Consumers benefit from it by getting access to quality goods at relatively lower prices. Evidently, consumers that benefit most from freer trade are normally relatively poor who can buy goods at reasonable prices after opening of trade, and thus maintain a decent living standard. In this context, globalization can be seen as a tacit method to lessen poverty.
- Since the 1980s, globalization has been creating consistent growth of the world, allowing the national economies to penetrate globally, and 'transnationalizing' their economic, financial, environmental, and political problems even if they like it or not.[13] Globalization has thus created ecosystems that facilitate cross-border activities. Nevertheless, countries must develop their own policies to regulate MNCs and limit their negative fallout.

Challenges of Globalization

- Opponents argue that globalization could not deliver what was perceived from it. This is mainly because the institutions concerned with the globalization process did not address the issues of developing countries. They claim that free trade has benefited developed countries at the cost of developing countries. Opponents also claim that independence and power gained by MNCs in host countries has enabled them to influence their political policies. Thus, they consider globalization is imperialistic and force investment, on net basis, to flow into developed countries instead of flowing into developing nations, who face unsustainable growth of debt. Critics raise concerns about unrestrained environmental damage, food insecurity, wrong labor practices, women's rights issues, child labor, growing consumerism, the declining traditional cultural standards, spread of diseases, increase in illegal immigration, and rising cross-border crime. Moreover, they claim that industries, regions, people and countries in some social strata have not prospered from globalization; they could neither compete on the basis of price nor participate in global value chains due to MNCs' monopoly. Only little attention has been paid to such effects of globalization.[14]
- During the 1997 East Asian financial crisis, the experience revealed that openness to global capital markets left domestic financial markets at the mercy of sudden shocks, creating more volatility in exchange rates and massive flight of capital, especially in countries whose financial systems were fragile. Interestingly, based on their

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Regionalism is a response to inability of the global system to address its malign effects in certain sectors, regionalism is often presented as a 'building bloc' to globalization.

economic strength NIEs quickly adjusted to shocks, and managed crises situation far better than others.

- Main criticism came regarding un-regulated globalization and free market policies, directed by quasi-governments (the World Bank/IMF), they were not considered responsible to the people governed by them; instead, they mostly protected the interests of MNCs. In fact, globalization facilitated MNCs by globalizing them, while refusing to globalize people. A fact that can be noted from harsh immigration controls and lack of labor rights for people from developing nations.
- In sum, critics are not interested in whether globalization is good for economic prosperity; they are concerned instead about its effects on social agendas and believed that these were malign, and not benign.
- A rebuttal to critics: in the debate of globalization, critics have raised their voices against it for afflicting much harm on developing nations, such as child labor to cultural homogenization and environmental degradation. Bhagwati (2007) in his seminal work argued that "globalization when properly governed is indeed the most commanding force for social good in today's world".[15] He explained why the cases presented by critics are often not as compelling as they seem and convincingly argued that globalization is part of the solution and not part of the problem.
- Critics argue that trade reduces wages or creates unemployment. Bhagwati rejects this reasoning and argues that it is not trade; it is rather technological changes that have lessened demand for some types of workers. Concomitantly, more jobs are created for certain other types of workers dealing with new technology, such changes are creating more and high paid jobs. He further argues that most of the criticism on globalization is misdirected; therefore, policymakers need to focus on removing the skill mismatch.
- No doubt, globalization has created many opportunities, but it has also adversely affected certain sectors specifically those that intended to integrate in the global economy. In this context, the developed countries are using contingent protectionist policies on critical sector of special interest to developing countries. It may be noted that textiles and agriculture, which could provide ample opportunities to Pakistan, have not been fully liberalized by developed countries. In addition, major areas of concern are the use of intellectual property rights, and anti-dumping practices by developed countries, which appears to discriminate more to exporters from developing countries.

Regionalism: Challenges and Opportunities

Opportunities from Regionalism

- Due to a weakly controlled globalization process, countries have responded by regionalizing to uphold their cultural, economic and political stability. Thus, regionalism is a response to inability of the global system to address its malign effects in certain sectors. Regionalism has placed the global system on a bigger scale, despite this the stability and amount of new regulations created by it are incomparable. Therefore, regionalism is often presented as a 'building bloc' to globalization.
- Regionalism creates substantial economic gains and opportunities; including, improvement in market efficiency, sharing of the cost of infrastructure projects, collective decision making on policy reforms, and reaping non-economic benefits including peace and security.
- Regionalism induces regional groups to create support for trade liberalization. Baldwin (1993) argues that North America and Europe used to advocate the views of pro-integrationist private sector leaders, while the public used to be more suspicious.[16]
- People are fearful of unilateral trade liberalization due to: (i) the possibility of spontaneous

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For Pakistan, the challenges of globalization and regionalism are to position its economy within the arrangements of cross-border relationships so as to seize opportunities for rapid growth

competition in domestic market and (ii) the loss of government's regulatory control over domestic markets. In this regard, it is more promising that regional arrangements are considered as a path towards globalization. The gainful experience of EU and MERCOSUR (the Southern Cone Common Market, comprising of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay) may dispel fear from regionalism and lend support for further liberalization at regional level.

- Regionalism reinforces bonds between states and builds trust. RTAs are useful for trade liberalization on regional basis and usually do not hurt trade from non-members. RTAs create trade and attract foreign capital. Thus, regionalism can achieve what multilateralism cannot. Small group of countries as its participants seemingly creates less conflicts and disagreement and enables to advance trade liberalization more easily. Contrary to regional blocs, it has been noted that with increase in WTO membership, individual countries have become unable to influence the substance and speed of trade liberalization, and made it more difficult to articulate coordinated policies.[17]

Challenges of Regionalism

- Critics show concern that regional blocs often turn inward and create discriminatory trade barriers against non-members. This hurts smaller countries that are usually left out of major trading blocs. Thus, they consider regional blocs as a "stumbling block" to globalization.
- Trading blocs do divert trade. To overcome this, Lamy (2002) suggested that "MFN trade liberalization is the best because it avoids the risks of trade diversion".[18] If other effects of RTAs are considered such as growth, investment, and removal of NTBs; then their strength in trade creation would offset any trade diversion that may arise.
- There are other kinds of diversions associated with regionalism and their possible effects on multilateral trade liberalization: Panagariya (2000) raises concern that "how options made available through regional agreements might distract countries from multilateral trade liberalization processes".[19] But this is contested by others, who submit that since the membership of WTO is steadily rising, therefore, we should not worry much about it.
- While RTAs are 'welfare-enhancing' for members, it may also be associated with greater adjustment pressure for inefficient domestic industries. The latter may seek shifting some of the adjustment burden onto non-members through raising external barriers. Non-members may also be harmed through investment diversion. This involves firms deciding to invest inside RTAs and produce locally, rather than produce in the least-cost location and ship products to the RTA.
- An additional possible 'stumbling block' is the risk that contesting RTAs may create contrasting regulatory structures. Therefore, many different and opposing legal frameworks and dispute settlement mechanisms may weaken discipline among members. With time, such risks promote trade diversion as businesses try to protect their interests in the trading bloc. The challenge for regional administration is to manage risks to regionalism. Strong regional institutions can ensure that the bloc is comprehensive and adequately manage social, environmental, governance risks.

Pakistan's Standing

- For Pakistan, the challenges of globalization and regionalism are to position its economy within the arrangements of cross-border relationships so as to seize opportunities for rapid growth. At present, the country is more a recipient of globalization than an active participant; therefore,

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Pakistan is an active participant of two regional blocs, the SAARC which is presently ineffective for trade liberalization due to hegemonic practices by India; and the ECO that has so far not achieved its goals because of non-ratification of preferential arrangements by some countries and security issues in the region

it needs to shift its way of engagement from passive to active involvement. On the other hand, Pakistan is an active participant but only in two regional blocs, it is not part of a bloc offering substantial trade and investment openings. The SAARC, which is presently ineffective for trade liberalization due to hegemonic practices by India; and the ECO that has so far not achieved its goals because of non-ratification of preferential arrangements by some countries and security issues in the region. Pakistan is not part of any major trading bloc apparently due to geopolitics. All of these have motivated Pakistan to go for bilateral preferential agreements.

Globalization

- Pakistan lacks resources and skills to upgrade production technologies, which has widened its technological gap with its competitors. As a result, it continues to depend on exports of primary commodities. Besides, Pakistan's access to capital markets is lopsided: during good times it is able to borrow from international market, whereas, during crisis it faces many credit restrictions.
- To take advantage from globalization, the relevant factors include; introduction of structural reforms, creating consistency in policies, and ensuring transparency and good governance. In this regard, Pakistan has largely failed in the past to introduce relevant policies, strong institutions and good governance needed to capitalize on opportunities offered by globalization. Besides, lack of infrastructures and limited access to international finance has restricted it to benefit from globalization.
- Pakistan's record in trade expansion is not as visible as that of some of its competitors. Pakistan globalized its economy in phases: first phase that started in 1984 with tariff rationalization, further opened under the conditionality imposed by the IMF and the World Bank under their structural adjustment programs, which lasted till 1995, the year when WTO was established. By year 2000, openness index fell by 10 percentage points when Pakistan was making adjustments to fulfill its initial commitments with the WTO, but afterwards it started picking up as multifiber arrangements (MFA) concerning its major export sector textiles and clothing were dismantled. Once MFA was completely dismantled in 2008, Pakistan could not withstand the fierce competition from its major competitors who also got preferential access to major markets. Since 2008, Pakistan experienced a continuous decline in its openness index. That stands at 19.4% in 2020 as compared to the high time of 38.91% in 1990. The decline in the index is mostly due to flat performance of exports. It needs to underscore here that Pakistan's share in total world exports of merchandise was 0.18% in 1991, which came down to 0.14% in 2015 and further to 0.11% in 2018. Whereas, the share of imports in total world imports was 0.20% in 1991 and remained at 0.20% in 2015, but it increased to 0.26% in 2018, at a time when CPEC-related machinery and plants were imported in large volumes. All this shows that, what was achieved on account of openness of the economy during 1948-1995, was lost later as Pakistan's exports could not withstand global competition. The main reason for this outcome is that although trade was liberalized but it was not supported by improvement in international competitiveness of export products.

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Pakistan is a minor contributor in the world trade. Pakistan is not a part of any regional bloc with substantial influence on world trade. Pakistan thus needs to create a balance between regionalism and multilateralism

Regionalism

- The theory of 'first best policy' of free trade works under multilateralism but it has fallen short of its objectives. Therefore, a 'second best policy' is regionalism. Both multilateralism and regionalism have problems. Being the founding member of GATT, Pakistan always advocated of the multilateralism. But, with the slow pace of multilateral negotiations; it has also joined the RTA's bandwagon. Now it is member of SAARC, ECO and SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization). Pakistan has also signed six bilateral trade agreements (with China, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Iran, Indonesia and Malaysia), as a response to its frustration with developments in SAARC. The bilateral trading arrangements in the absence of active regionalism are an appropriate response.
- Pakistan has not made any significant success since the inception of SAARC. Its trade share with this region has remained stagnant. All gauges fall much short of the trade potential for the region. This is mainly due to mistrust, unresolved political problems dominating trade and investment, lack of cooperation and interaction among members. Failures of the SAARC in creating sustained trade relations have encouraged its members to look for other arrangements. Pakistan is aiming at promoting its trade relations with ECO countries. While, most of other SAARC countries have created a sub-regional bloc called BIMSTEC.[29] Pakistan is excluded from this group. Despite lack of progress in trade relations, however SAARC countries are successful in developing many regional institutions and apex bodies to set a stage for development in their relations at some future date. Signing of the SAFTA shows the commitment of members to follow a path towards facilitating the cross-border movement of goods. Since Pulwama crisis, no progress is seen in SAARC relations, people in the region are increasingly reaching to the conclusion that SAARC is dead, at least for now.
- Regional integration approach adopted by ECO is based on unilateral, non-preferential trade liberalization consistent with WTO principles. This approach is consistent with the development strategy of ECO countries. Within this approach, top priority is accorded to trade facilitation and transport services projects. Whereas trade liberalization approach is adopted, which is consistent with the WTO framework. ECO's framework has the potential to provide ideal environment, and together with simplified customs and visa procedures and improved transport and communications networks can expand trade and investment in the region. Optimism about ECO's success, however, depends on the resolution of conflicts in the region and facilitating access to the landlocked members to seaports; nevertheless, it underlines the region's potential.
- Due to sluggish trade in ECO and SAARC regions, Pakistan has redesigned its trade framework in favor of BFTAs. Khan and Mahmood (2017) found that BFTAs have created trade for Pakistan and it is much higher than the trade diversion.[31] It is noteworthy that trade volumes have increased after signing of BFTAs.
- Outside the SAARC and ECO regions, Pakistan's interest in trade liberalization with the ASEAN has been growing. Pakistan is part of ASEAN Regional Forum tackling security issues. It is trying to become a Full Dialogue Partner of ASEAN. In this region, Pakistan has signed an FTA with Malaysia in 2007, whereas with Indonesia it has signed PTA in 2005.

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Unless, Pakistan plays a proactive role in promotion of bilateralism, multilateralism and regionalism, it will not be able to unshackle itself from its current economic status in the comity of nations

- Should Pakistan follow the regional or the multilateral path? The answer is directed by its trade position in the global market. Currently, Pakistan is a minor contributor in the world trade. Pakistan is not a part of any regional bloc with substantial influence on world trade and thus needs to create a balance between regionalism and multilateralism by not only joining major trading blocs but also working with others at WTO to protect its interests, especially with those developing countries that are excluded from major established trading blocs. With concerted efforts regional political disputes should be resolved at the earliest and until their resolution they should not create obstacles for bilateral and regional trade.

The Way Forward

The global community has the obligation to tackle the challenge of accomplishing a just and balanced globalization by dealing with global inequalities and responding to the risks accompanying excessive trade liberalization. Pakistan could not capitalize from the opportunities offered by globalization. Due to lack of preparation it stepped-back from the globalization process. Likewise, Pakistan could not benefit from regionalism due to poor planning. Unless, Pakistan plays a proactive role in promotion of bilateralism, multilateralism and regionalism, it will not be able to unshackle itself from its current economic status in the comity of nations. How it can become a proactive participant in the globalization to benefit from opportunities, a few suggestions are in order:

Pakistan has vast potential to capitalize from global opportunities. It needs to turn potential into reality by removing regulatory and policy barriers, reducing cost-of-doing business, and innovating trade facilitation system

(CPEC) project will play a vital role in developing the regional connectivity. Gawader port will function as a hub of global economic activities, thus placing Pakistan in an important position in the world and completely shaping its relations with other nations

- Pakistan can actively participate globally only by becoming a resilient economy. It needs to prepare itself to withstand the competitive pressure on its firms and institutions to improve efficiencies in all spheres including manufacturing, supply chains, policy provisions and implementation, etc. Thus, Pakistan needs to shift the terms of its global engagement by building technological capabilities substantially, both at the enterprise level and institutional level, and by encouraging foreign firms working in the country to integrate their activities with their global operations so as to promote trade, investment and transfer of technology and modern management practices.
- Pakistan has vast potential to capitalize from global opportunities. It needs to turn potential into reality by removing regulatory and policy barriers, reducing cost-of-doing business, and innovating trade facilitation system.
- Services have become vital for competitiveness of manufacturing because product differentiation, speedy delivery and responsiveness to fast changing consumer preferences have gained importance. Pakistan needs to adapt to this changing global pattern of production and marketing.
- India has made SAARC hostage to its hegemonic designs. Indian hostilities may not end anytime soon. Therefore, Pakistan should expand its bilateral FTA with Sri Lanka and negotiate more such FTAs with other South Asian countries. ECO has vast potential to become an economic reality with support from Russia, China and CARS. Therefore, Pakistan needs to put its diplomatic weight behind ECO to harness its trade and investment potential.
- Mega projects improve foreign relations and promote economic integration. Pakistan has already concluded basic agreements of the gas pipeline projects with Iran (IP), and Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (TAPI). But they have not yet materialized.
- To widen its regional trade base, Pakistan needs to diversify trade to African and South American regions through active foreign relations and marketing.

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- China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project will play a vital role in developing the regional connectivity. In this regard, the Gawader port, a major infrastructure project of CPEC, will function as a hub of global economic activities, thus placing Pakistan in an important position in the world and completely shaping its relations with other nations.
- Design new bilateral FTAs and revisit existing FTAs to create merchandise and services trade as well as investment.

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NOTES

1. This positioning included Pakistan's strategic location, large market, and language; its pragmatic disposition.
2. Openness ratio is the ratio of sum of exports and imports of goods and services to the GDP.
3. Bhagwati, J.N., P. Krishna and A. Panagariya (2013) Where is the Global Trade Regime Heading? https://iiss.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19448571.2014.1019714#.XvcB5ygzbIU.
4. Bhagwati, J.N., P. Krishna and A. Panagariya (2013) Ibid.
5. WTO (2020). Regional blocs. Available at: www.wto.org.
6. See, UNCTAD, 'International Investment Policy Making in Transition'. Available at: https://investmentpolicy.unctad.org/international-investment-agreements.
7. See, e.g., Schott, J. (1989). 'More Free Trade Areas?', in: J. Schott (ed.), Free Trade Areas and US Trade Policy (Washington DC: Institute of International Economics); Bhagwati (1993), 'Regionalism and Multilateralism: An Overview', in: K. Anderson and R. Blackhurst (eds.), Regional Integration and the Global Trading System (London: Harvester-Wheatsheaf).
8. The domino theory is simple. It is a "political equilibria, which balance anti- and pro-membership forces, determine governments' stances on regional liberalization. Domestic exporters to regional blocs are a powerful pro-membership constituency" (Baldwin, Richard (1993) A Domino Theory of Regionalism. NBER Working Paper No. 4465, September).
9. Baldwin, R. (1997). The Causes of Regionalism. The World Economy, 20.
10. Baldwin, ibid at 870-871.
11. See, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries_en#28members.
12. "Trade diversion in this context means re-direction of trade flow by a member of the soon to be formed group, from a non-member of the group to members of the group, due to the incentives afforded by the group memberships. For instance, tariff reduction in a FTA may render goods from member states cheaper than similar goods from non-member states" (see also, Bhagwati, J.N., T.N. Srinivasan and A. Panagariya (1998) Lectures in International Trade. New York: MIT Press).
13. Bhagwati, J.N. (2007) In Defense of Globalization. New York: Oxford University Press.
14. Bhagwati (2007), ibid.
15. Baldwin, R. (1993), Ibid.
16. Baldwin, R. and D. Jaimovich, 'Are Free Trade Agreements Contagious?', NBER Working Paper Series, Working Paper 16084 (2010), http://www.nber.org/papers/w16084.pdf
17. Ibid.
18. Lamy, P. (2002). Stepping Stones or Stumbling Blocks? The EU's Approach towards the Problem of Multilateralism vs. Regionalism in Trade Policy. The World Economy, 25(10): pp.1399-1413.
19. Panagariya, A. (2000). Preferential Trade Liberalization: The Traditional Theory and New Developments. Journal of Economic Literature, 38(6): pp.287-331.
20. BIMSTEC include Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Bhutan and Nepal.
21. Khan, H.I. and Z. Mahmood (2017). Trade Creation vs. Trade Diversion and General Equilibrium Effects of Bilateral and Regional Free Trade Agreements of Pakistan. S 3H Working Paper Series Number 03, 2017, National University of Sciences and Technology, Islamabad.

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